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- Art. I. 1. *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament.* By G. H. A. Ewald, Doctor of Philosophy, &c. &c., *Translated from the last edition, and enriched with later additions and improvements of the Author.* By John Nicholson, A.B., Oxon. 1838. London: Whittaker and Co.
2. *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language.* By Isaac Nordheimer, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Munich; Prof. of Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental Languages, and Acting Prof. of Hebrew in the City of New York. 2 vols. 1838—1841. London: Wiley and Putman, Longman and Co., Whittaker and Co.
3. *The Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius; Translated from the Eleventh German Edition.* By T. J. Conant, Prof. of Hebrew in the Literary and Theological Institution at Hamilton, New York. *With a Course of Exercises, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy.* By the Translator. Reprinted from the American edition of 1839. London: Ward and Co.
4. *A Hebrew Grammar, containing a Copious and Systematic Development of the Etymology and Punctuation of that Language.* By Samuel Ransom, Classical and Hebrew Tutor in Hackney Theological Seminary, &c. &c. 1843. London: Snow, Paternoster-row.

THE difficulties which formerly obstructed the study of the Hebrew language in this country, have, of late years, been to a great extent removed, by the publication of elementary works of the highest character, in forms, and at a cost which have rendered them accessible to all. Simultaneously almost with this advantage, there arose also a much more general interest in the study than had ever previously existed; an interest which indeed preceded and probably occasioned the appearance of some of the publications just referred to, but was, in its turn, augmented and diffused by the works which it called forth. The rise and peculiar features of this interest may be fairly re-

garded as a sign of the times in which we live, and of the character of the British people. Its principle was not, like that which prevails in Germany, a scientific one; nor did it manifest itself, as among the more kindred population of the United States, first in academic bowers; but it sprang up, with something like the luxuriance of oriental vegetation, suddenly, yet vigorously and visibly, in a particular section of what is conventionally called 'the religious world.' We are speaking of the great and general impulse given to the study since the year 1825. Previously to that time, Hebrew literature had been cultivated, and, for the most part, according to the pointed system, by various distinguished scholars in the national universities, and it had been a prescribed branch of study in the theological academies of the protestant dissenters from their foundation; but, as copies of the Hebrew scriptures were then expensive, and the most available aids to the learner were the grammars of Buxtorf, Schroeder, Ashworth, and Yeates, Buxtorf's Lexicons, Bythner's *Lyra Davidis*, and the *Clavis Pentateuchi* of Robertson, and the best of these at prices which placed them beyond the reach of most students, it was but few who fairly struggled through the difficulties which beset the 'strait gate' of Hebrew learning, and made any great advances in what is still its 'narrow way,' though Schultens had long before professed to have opened the '*via regia Hebraizandi*.' Thus it was not as a graft upon the stock of learning, but rather as a sucker from the root of religious feeling, that this new interest appeared. Or it might, perhaps, be more justly likened to a new seedling, produced by an artificial mixture of fashion and pseudo-prophetic zeal, (the latter, however, often in combination with a deep reverence for the word of God,) and forced into rapid development in the heated temperature of an epidemic enthusiasm. Thus it began; and old and young, male and female, without reflection, without patience, without discipline, but too often with a strong appetite for the marvellous, and a most lofty contempt for all the received principles of hermeneutics, but those which had the imprimatur of some Jewish Rabbi, or of Joseph Mede, rushed headlong into the study of the original prophetic scriptures, usually under the guidance of some Jewish teacher. Hence the extravagant crudities of the '*Morning Watch*,' with many of the other literal longings and material imaginings and dreams of Irvingism, and subsequently of Plymouth Brethrenism: fruits which, if it were not an abuse of language to represent them as gathered from the tree of knowledge, must be regarded as its evil produce, not its good, like apples of Sodom, alluring to the eye, but turning expectation into shame. Yet good has eventually and providentially come out of this excite-



ment. Germany had, for the previous twenty years, been maturing, in a sober and scientific way, the results of persevering and industrious research into the principles and structure of the sacred tongues; which then (through the labours of one or two American scholars, whose services, in this respect, were made available, with those of some remarkably able, though self-educated, native Hebraists), were ready to be laid before the British public, just as the enthusiasm had reached its height. And thus, a good supply of really valuable elementary works keeping pace with the increased demand for them, a stimulus was given to Hebrew literature, such as it never had realised since the days of Lightfoot and Castell, which, happily, far from being extinguished, continues to the present time with unabated, and even increasing, vigour.

The characteristic merits of the great modern cultivators of Hebrew literature are now so generally understood and recognised, by those who have taken advantage of their labours, that little need be said in addition to that which has been well said already. It would be ungrateful, however, even in this brief notice, to pass over, without distinct mention, the names of Gesenius, Stuart, Hupfeld, Ewald, Winer, Lee, Robinson, and Nordheimer, all of whom, without exception, have rendered, though in different ways, the most important service to the Hebrew student. Among these Gesenius is foremost. The study of Hebrew, on sound and comprehensive philological principles, was very greatly advanced by the publication of his *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, in 1817. Notwithstanding the great names by which Hebrew literature had been previously distinguished, the grammar of the language had been left in a very imperfect state, and Gesenius's successive labours in this department were excellently adapted to lead the way, in reviving and otherwise promoting the study of the language. Both in the chair and from the press he was a prince of teachers. His mind was entirely free from that misty mysticism with which his countrymen are so generally affected, or which they so generally affect. He studied diligently, thought clearly, ascertained facts and seized principles with great precision, and had, what so many want, as great a faculty in imparting, as he had in acquiring, knowledge. His great grammatical work, which was published, after two or three editions of his smaller grammar, (the first edition of which appeared in 1813, as a mere pamphlet,) was itself succeeded by numerous enlargements of that work, until the thirteenth, incorporating the most valuable results of his own and others' subsequent studies, and comprising between two and three hundred well-filled pages, was issued from the press in 1842. His Hebrew-

German Lexicons, first published in two volumes, and afterwards repeatedly in one; and still more, his Hebrew-Latin Lexicon, with its Latin vocabulary, and his nearly finished Thesaurus, were also most important contributions to the cause of Hebrew learning. Of his valuable Commentary on Isaiah, though indirectly very influential in stimulating and assisting the study of the language, it is less necessary to speak. His history of the Hebrew language and writing, a volume of 230 pages, published in 1815, admitting that, when compared with the author's later labours, it must be regarded as an immature work, was, at the time of its appearance, a useful addition to the motives and means of advancement in this study. Thus all his labours, directly or indirectly, tended to the same result, and place him, all things considered, at the head of those who have improved the philological machinery with which we must unlock the precious stores of biblical knowledge.

It was under Gesenius that Hupfeld received his first insight into Hebrew learning. This able scholar and estimable man first distinguished himself by his '*Exercitationes Aethiopicæ, sive observationum criticarum ad emendandam rationem Grammaticæ semiticæ, specimen primum*,' a treatise of forty-six pages in quarto, which he published in 1825, and dedicated to his former tutor: '*cujus auspiciis opus susceptum, subsidiis et consiliis elaboratum, interventu et cura editum est*,' as its grateful author says. This was followed in 1827, by his piece, '*De emendanda ratione lexicographiæ semiticæ commentatio*,' published on occasion of the jubilee-festival of Dr. Albert Jacob Arnoldi, who, in the preceding year, had concluded the fiftieth year of his academical labours as professor of the Oriental languages at Marburg. In the following year an essay of his on the '*Theory and History of Hebrew Grammar*' appeared in the '*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*' of Ullmann and Umbreit. This was followed in 1830 by three essays, published in the same periodical, on the history of the Old Testament text, in which the letters and vocalization of the Hebrew were discussed, and which were to have been succeeded, but have not been, by another on the accents and Methegh. Various occupations have since prevented him, till lately, from publishing his long promised and much looked-for Hebrew grammar, which, though at length out, we have not yet seen. The character of Hupfeld's mind and writings is deservedly high: accurate knowledge, freedom of inquiry, and singular penetration in the development of principles, distinguish all his labours, which are valued wherever they are known, and in proportion as they are understood.

In the year 1827 the learned world of Germany was electrified by the appearance of Ewald's '*Critical Grammar of the Hebrew*'

Language.'—pp. iv. 684. The influence of this work has been greater than that of any other which has been written on the subject, excepting only the *Lehrgebäude*, of Gesenius; and it was far more immediate and remarkable than even that. Wanting the calm and patient investigation of Gesenius, Ewald at once laid hold of fame through the force and brilliancy of his inventive talent; and if too many of his new solutions rested upon bold and arbitrary conjecture, others, never realized before, were the acquisitions of a deep and subtle philosophy, aided by an enlarged familiarity with the Shemitic family of languages. In Germany, through the almost incalculable influence of the universities on the world of letters, and the very large number of professors and private teachers which the universities supply, no work exhibiting original views runs any risk of being long neglected. The Athenian thirst for novelty yet flourishes in the land of Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, and Schelling, as in its native seat. But when a mere repetent in theology, attacked, without the least appearance of misgiving, the critical character and many of the philological conclusions of the man who for fifteen years had been regarded as the acknowledged head of Hebrew learning, the *facile princeps* of Hebrew scholars, and especially when it was perceived that in some at least of his positions he had more correctly stated the principles of Hebrew philology, the interest excited seemed really boundless. The influence of Ewald's system, as a philosophical rival to the more soberly inductive one of Gesenius, was soon afterwards powerfully confirmed in the eyes of students generally by the admiration with which it was received by the philologists of Winer's school, and particularly by the frequent references made to the 'Critical Grammar' in Winer's revised edition of Simonis's *Lexicon*. Göttingen cried up the bold innovator because he was her son by birth as well as education; Berlin because his authority and influence were expected to furnish a counterpoise to the rationalism of Gesenius\*. For a time it seemed as if the influence of the latter was henceforward to be shut up within the precincts of Halle. The spell, however, dissolved after a season. Ewald's extraordinary abilities and services were still properly acknowledged, but scholars and students were not so dazzled by them as to be blind to the less showy but more uniformly trustworthy

\* The prejudice against Gesenius at Berlin was truly pitiable, and seemed to pervade equally the church and the university. A clergyman there observed to us, in 1835, with obvious delight, 'once Gesenius was esteemed the greatest name, but now Ewald has shewn that he is by no means so clever.' A distinguished professor there also, said to a friend of ours, that now that Ewald stood so high, he should not mind acknowledging the merits of Gesenius, as a Hebraist and expositor.



investigations of Gesenius, whose successive works, until his recent death, were a succession of advances in the same method of philological study and illustration on which he had originally commenced his career.

It is the less necessary to enlarge upon the relative merits of the contending systems of Gesenius and Ewald, since most of our readers who feel a particular interest in the subject have probably perused what Professor Moses Stuart has written so judiciously upon it in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. viii. pp. 470—483. It has also been discussed by Dr. Robinson, more briefly but with his usual discrimination, in No. II. of his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 366—369. To give an adequate view of the differences of judgment, arrangement, and manner of discussion, exhibited in their grammars, would also be impossible within the limits to which we must confine ourselves; the more especially as Ewald, in the second edition of his smaller grammar, printed at Leipzig in 1835, filled up several deficiencies, and otherwise made very considerable improvements upon his former works. A few, however, may be selected for cursory notice. Gesenius's division of the vowels into three classes was discarded by Ewald, in his 'Critical Grammar,' as 'utterly false:' in the second edition of his smaller grammar, however, it is made the basis of his own representation of them. It is indeed in the elementary part of his system—the illustration of the sounds of the language, and of the signs which bear upon vocal expression—that his system is most developed and improved since its first immature exposition in the 'Critical Grammar.' Much of this is to be undoubtedly ascribed to the severe, but just and acute development of the deficiencies of the 'Critical Grammar' in this branch of its investigations by Hupfeld in his review of it, and to the views propounded by that writer in some of the essays which we just now mentioned as having been written by him for the 'Studien und Kritiken.' Ewald's representation of the forms and flexion of the Hebrew nouns also differed greatly from that of Gesenius. Instead of nine masculine and four feminine declensions, which the latter distinguishes in his paradigms, Ewald's system, as drawn out by Woche\*, (for he himself rather discusses it, and leaves the results to be gathered by a careful consideration of scattered observations,) exhibits only three principal classes, but these are divided and subdivided. His classification is certainly more scientific in analysis, distinguishes the essential and accidental differences more exactly, and in its leading ideas is more

\* Woche's work is intitled 'Die Hebräischen Norminalformen, nach Dr. G. H. Ewald's System erläutert und ausführlich in Paradigmen dargestellt Von Maximilian Woche, der Theol. Lic. und Prof. Gymnasium zu Ehingen an der Donau. Tübingen, 1832.'—pp. 48.

simple than that of Gesenius: on the other hand, the subdivisions are not free from perplexity, especially where unusual formations occur, (as in class. I. form ii. 2 a, 2 b, 6 a, 6 b, form iii. 1, 2, and repeatedly in the other two classes,) and some of the distinctions are the mere freaks of an excessive and cloud-embracing subtlety. Another of Ewald's deviations from Gesenius and the rest of the grammarians was his treatment of the Hebrew tenses as moods: 'Critical Grammar,' p. 554.—These examples, to which it would be easy to add more, will convey a sufficient general idea of Ewald's unfettered treatment of his subject, and at the same time sufficiently prove that all his new methods were not improvements. Still, speculating, as he did even in his first grammatical production, on the enlarged principles of universal grammar, it was impossible that, with his penetrating intellect and familiarity with the Hebrew Scriptures, he should not have struck out some new light, and made some useful discoveries. That he did so, and that, with several tacit retractations, he added to the number of these in both editions of his smaller grammar\*, is universally admitted. On the whole, the judgment expressed respecting him and Gesenius by a writer who reviewed his 'Critical Grammar' in the *New Critical Journal* of theological literature by Winer and Engelhardt, may be cited here as a fair judgment on the case. 'For directly practical purposes, that is to say, for the popular throng of learners who stick fast in a meagre elementary knowledge, Herr Ewald has certainly not done much, even if he did not intentionally exclude all 'easy instruction for beginners' from his plan. For the learner, Gesenius will always command the preference on account of his convenient arrangement; while the completeness of his matter, and the inductive solidity and self-possession which pervades his investigations, will equally decide the choice of instructors and those who are occupied with the exposition of the Bible, however superior his follower may be in depth, acuteness, and boldness of speculation. As respects the general progress of linguistic

\* It would, probably, but that the literary ardour and habits of the Germans are better known in England than they formerly were, be hardly believed that, between the publication of his 'Critical Grammar,' in 1827, and that of the first edition of his smaller grammar in the following year, Ewald acquired the knowledge of the Sanscrit, and even published a pamphlet on some of the older Sanscrit metres; or that, in the interval between the preparation of the first and second editions of his smaller grammar, a period of about six years, he published his *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, 8vo., Gottingen, 1828; his *Grammatica Critica Linguae Arabicæ, cum brevi Metrorum Doctrina*, 8vo. Lips. Vol. I., 1831, Vol. II., 1833; his *Abhandlungen zur Biblischen und Orientalisten Literatur* [Essays on Biblical and Oriental Literature], 8vo. Gött., 1832; and commenced his *Translations and Commentary on the Psalms*, which was published in 1835.



and biblical science, however, Ewald's practically useless grammar holds out the prospect of an undeniable advance, since, putting out of consideration the new results which are already ascertained, it allures in almost every page to further investigation, and must put a happy end to all that 'floundering forwards under the credit of some great name,' (as Johann v. Muller calls it,) which, in this department of learning, has been too much in vogue even among the heroes of literature.'

The services of Winer, as an agent in this linguistic reformation, were directly rendered in his thorough and scientific revision of the Lexicon of Simonis, and indirectly, but at an earlier date, through the stimulus given to the scientific investigation of Hebrew grammar by his work on the Greek of the New Testament. Winer may, in this latter department, be regarded as the founder of a school to which some of the most distinguished philologists belong. To describe it, or its master, does not enter into our design. It is sufficient to say, that what Thiersch did for Homer, Winer did for the New Testament; and that was a service which, in such a land as Germany, was sure to create a demand for a corresponding movement in Old Testament philology.

The names of Stuart, Lee, and Robinson, are well known to the Hebrew student as those of men who, while they have carefully watched the progress of discovery in Germany, have not been wanting in their own researches, or failed to exercise their own independent judgment. To Professor Stuart, America and England are deeply indebted, not only for his early and unwearied exertions, when there was none to help him, to make the stores of German 'Semitismus' acceptable to those who use the English tongue, but also for the high public example of strenuous diligence in the cause of biblical knowledge which his course of life has furnished for the last twenty years. The second and following editions of his grammar, especially the last, have been much used in this country. Of Robinson let it suffice to say, that the English student is indebted to him, not only for much indirect benefit through the 'Biblical Repository' which he first planned and edited, and his New Testament Lexicon, (of his geographical work this is not the place to speak,) but for the best Hebrew-English lexicon which exists. Lee's grammar, with some arbitrary and fanciful statements, has much that is original. His knowledge of the cognate languages, though too obtrusive on the whole, occasionally throws valuable light on Hebrew idioms. In his treatment of the nouns, especially the verbal nouns, and in the syntax, there are some things deserving of attention, which are not, to our knowledge, brought forward in other grammars. If we pass rapidly over these three names, it is not because we think



lightly of them. They have laboured well in a precious cause.  
*Palmarum qui meruerunt ferant.*

The last name on our list is Nordheimer; of whom it is not too much to say, that his place is in the highest rank of Hebrew grammarians. Though he entered the field at a later period than those whom we have previously mentioned, he had already done good service, achieved distinguished honours, and, by a new course of effort, had drawn towards himself the eyes and expectations of all who desired the complete resuscitation of the language of Canaan, when his sun went down, while it was yet day, and his work dropped unfinished from his hands. We shall abstract a brief account of him from the tribute rendered to his memory by his colleague, Dr. Robinson, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

Isaac Nordheimer was born of Jewish parents, at Memelsdorf, a village near Erlangen, in Bavaria, in the year 1809. He received the rudiments of his education at the school belonging to the Jewish community of his native place, and was at the same time privately instructed by a learned Jew residing in the village. His progress in Hebrew was so rapid that, at the age of eleven, it was thought advisable to secure higher advantages for him; and he was sent to a learned rabbi at Burg-breppach, a small town about ten English miles distant. Here he remained two years; and his acquisitions in Hebrew learning were such as to excite surprise and admiration in his teacher and friends. Being now regarded as sufficiently prepared to be initiated into the profounder studies of modern Jewish learning, the means were supplied, principally by his maternal grandfather, a rich, but esteemed an avaricious man, for his support at the celebrated Jewish school at Presburg, in Hungary, then under the direction of Moses Szofar, the most renowned talmudist of his day, to which he accordingly proceeded, partly on foot, partly by public conveyance, when he was thirteen years of age. Here he spent five youthful years in almost entire seclusion from the world, and under the severest discipline of mind and body, loading his memory with the endless subtleties of rabbinical hermeneutics and philosophism, but uninstructed in any really scientific principles or even compendious rules of biblical or talmudical study. The expositions, interrogations, and occasional solutions of the interpreting rabbi were however aided and enlivened by discussions with his school-fellows; and in 1828 he left Presburg to return home, furnished with all the learning held to be necessary for a Jewish rabbi, but with a constitution undermined by excessive abstinence, wearisome night-watchings, and various forms of unnatural bodily mortification. In accordance with the law established in several of the larger German

states, requiring that public Jewish teachers should have some acquaintance with classical literature and the outlines of theology, belles-lettres, and philosophy, Nordheimer then entered himself at the gymnasium of Würzburg, and for two years devoted himself to the study of the classics and his native German, giving Hebrew lessons in exchange for instructions in the latter. 'At the end of two years he was transferred to the university of Würzburg, where he gave himself chiefly to philosophical studies. Here led on by lectures of distinguished professors to wider and nobler views, incited by intercourse with fellow-students in the different faculties, and introduced into the society of many intelligent families in the city, he began to lay off the shell of his former rabbinic discipline, and to let his heart expand in the enjoyments of social life and of higher and freer intellectual pursuits. His pecuniary means were still extremely limited; and although he found generous protection, yet he was led to practise, both from necessity and by system, the strictest economy.' At Munich, whither as the metropolitan university, Nordheimer proceeded in 1832 to complete his studies, he devoted himself to philosophy with fresh ardour, incited by the instructive lectures of such men as Schelling, Schubert, and Oken. Here 'he took part in founding a philosophic-theological society among the students,' which 'was opened with an appropriate address by himself.' In Munich, too, 'he first began the study of the oriental or Shemitic languages,' and pursued to some extent the study of the Sanscrit. 'In all these he was mainly his own guide; receiving, however, occasional aid from the academical lectures, and especially from one of the academic instructors, who had become his friend. These pursuits necessarily brought him in contact with modern oriental philology; and thus reacted upon his own mind with respect to the Hebrew. He now accordingly turned his attention to the scientific philology of that language, as developed in the works of Gesenius and Ewald. As a means of support, he likewise gave private instruction in Hebrew. His residence at Munich, in the uninterrupted pursuit of chosen studies, and in the delights of select social intercourse, he was accustomed to look back upon with great satisfaction; though, in after life, it was a matter of regret to him that he had not there devoted his attention more exclusively to oriental philology.' Towards the close of 1834 he took his degree of doctor of philosophy at Munich, and afterwards sustained *pro formâ* the public examination required of Jewish theologians.

In May, 1835, Nordheimer, at the invitation of two American gentlemen who had been his pupils, and with the approbation of his family, left his home for the United States, and reached New York in the course of the summer. The remainder of his

history is soon told. Becoming gradually known and respected, he received in the winter of 1835-6 the nominal appointment of professor of the Arabic and other oriental languages, and acting professor of Hebrew in the university of that city, and took up his residence on the university premises. Here he laboured till he died, with growing reputation and encouragement. But now the unnatural discipline to which he had been subjected at Presburg began to tell upon his wasting frame. He made two or three journeys to Saratoga for the benefit of the waters, and tried various physicians, yet he was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse. At length a cough and hectic fever came upon him; and 'although he was cheerful and hoped for the best, his physician gave no encouragement to his friends. He entered upon his duties in the seminary in October with his usual zeal, but with the weakness of an expiring lamp. He last met his class on Friday, October 28, [1842,] and died on the Thursday morning following, November 3. On the next day his corpse was accompanied to the grave by a long line of mourning friends, comprising the professors and students of the seminary, the chancellor and some of the professors of the university, and many of the Hebrew community. He was buried according to the Hebrew rites; and after the corpse was lowered into the grave, the nearest relatives [three younger brothers, besides a sister, had followed him to the States] first threw earth upon the coffin, and then the rabbi and other near acquaintances. After the usual ablution, the burial service in Hebrew was read in the adjacent chapel.'

If we have occupied more room with personal recital in the case of Nordheimer than in those of his distinguished fellow-countrymen, let it be remembered that his is in many respects a peculiar history. His life is a bright example of unwearied devotion to the cause of learning, and an equally impressive warning against violating in the pursuit of it the dictates of nature. As Christians, we must regret that the more odorous lamp of faith was not enlightened where the torch of science blazed so brightly—on this point our information is only negative—but it would be unchristian in ourselves not to do justice to him as a man and as a scholar who has deserved well of his fellows. We unfeignedly deplore his loss; and as he did not live to wear, like Gesenius and Ewald, the honours which grow from year to year as transcendent merit is more diffusively recognised, let the earliest posthumous justice be rendered to his labours\*.

\* The reader will remember that the whole of the preceding information respecting Nordheimer is derived from Dr. Robinson's interesting account, though portions of it only are marked as his. The remaining passages, though in many places retaining his language, could not with propriety be



Besides his Hebrew Grammar in two large volumes octavo, Dr. Nordheimer published a Hebrew Chrestomathy in 1838, and made considerable preparation for a new Hebrew concordance, of which the first part was published in the spring of 1842. We agree with Dr. Robinson 'that there would be reason for great regret should the publication be broken off,' and rejoice to learn from him that the preparations for it were in so forward a state at Nordheimer's death, and that his associate, Mr. Turner, is so familiar with the work and so competent to complete and superintend the printing of it, that there seems little ground for apprehension.

To the student of language who might be ignorant of the remarkable revolution which has taken place in grammar during the last quarter of a century, through the labour of those master-minds by whom the study of the Sanscrit was first made available to the elucidation of difficulties in the languages of the Græco-Latin and teutonic families, Nordheimer's introduction to his grammar would be a phenomenon. It speaks, indeed, in a tone of which the grammarians of the last century knew nothing, and did we not know that this tone is substantially justified by real and sober facts, we should imagine that it was romance. What else would the following extract appear, if Von Schlegel, Bopp, Grimm, Von Humboldt, Pott, and Kühner had never written?

'The period has now gone by when a grammar was regarded as complete which exhibited the etymological and syntactical forms of a language as phenomena peculiar to itself, and whose sole merit consisted in the degree of diligence employed in collecting these facts, and the clearness of the arrangement in which they were displayed. In the present age, when philology, by means of the philosophical mode of treatment to which it has been subjected, is raised to the rank of a science, that grammarian will not be considered as having duly executed his task who does not enter upon the resolution of the phenomena of the particular language he undertakes to discuss, with the conviction that they are all necessary results of immutable and constantly operating laws, and with the intention of discovering and exhibiting those laws, and of applying them to the illustration of the whole body of facts which the language presents; at the same time showing for what reason and in what manner certain forms are made to serve certain grammatical purposes, and how these forms have arrived at their existing state. By this method of proceeding, the grammar of an individual language, which must otherwise prove a dry collection of lifeless, arbitrary, and so marked, on account of the frequent omissions, the compression of detached statements into one sentence, and the verbal alterations thereby rendered necessary. That so much of Dr. Robinson's language was retained in these passages needs, however, no apology or vindication, for why should his well-weighed and well-selected expressions have been rejected merely to make room for others less suitable?

loosely connected facts, is reduced to a completely organized system, connected in the most intimate manner by internal and external bands to an entire science.

‘The honour of creating this new and splendid era in philology has been reserved for the nineteenth century, the distinguishing characteristic of which is an impatience of the circumscribed limits within which our less enterprising forefathers were content to move, and an ardent desire to extend the moral, political, and literary horizon to its utmost stretch. In the general struggle of all classes of men for the advancement and elevation of their several pursuits, the philologist has not remained idle. For, as an aspiring youth, not satisfied with the one-sided view of men and things obtained by even the most intimate acquaintance with all that pertains to his own country, travels through divers and far distant regions, and, after contemplating the exhaustless variety of their institutions and productions with the comprehensive glance of a world-historian, returns with his knowledge increased, his views enlarged, and his powers of observation sharpened, to his native land, where he meets with a thousand sources of interest and instruction which before, from their very familiarity, escaped his attention: so the philologist, to whose elevated aims the study of a few favourite tongues no longer suffices, turns his attention to that cradle of history, arts, and languages, the East,—and, having reached the banks of the remote Indus, by investigating the venerable tongues there still existing, discovers the means and the manner of exchanging their ideas which men have employed from the birth of time; with the knowledge thus acquired, he applies himself anew to the examination of his native tongue and of those more nearly related to it, whose structure now presents to his delighted view a philosophical symmetry and beauty of which before he possessed not the slightest conception.

‘The revolution thus produced within the last thirty years in the science of philology, is one which for magnitude and rapidity has not been surpassed in the history of the human mind. When the scholars of Europe directed their intellectual vision to that newly discovered star in the East, the Sanscrit, now so brightly illuminating the horizon of philology,—and led on by its refulgent beams arrived at the classic soil of the ancient Hindu, where to their astonishment they recognized the scenery of their own familiar homes, and heard the well known accents of their native tongues,—they began to anticipate a discovery of no less importance, than the means of demonstrating the correctness of those views of the fundamental connexion existing between all languages, which had long pressed themselves on the attention of critical minds.’—  
Vol. I., *Introd.* pp. iii., iv., v.

We did not intend just now to revert in any way to the contested question of the comparative merits of Gesenius and Ewald; for it did not then occur to us, not having read the introduction to his grammar since it first appeared, that Nordheimer had expressed his mind upon it; but we are inclined to think that the account of that lamented scholar which has just been given may have attached such an interest to his opinion

that we should not be excused if we withheld it. It has a special value, as being the judgment of a man who must have looked at the question from a peculiar point of view; nay, of the only man in the world who can have looked upon it from such a point of view. For it is that of one brought up, as we have seen, to labour in the tread-mill of rabbinical scholasticism, but who had broken his fetters and made his way, on foot, if we may so speak, from the house of bondage, all through the wilderness of toil and expectation, till he took his stand upon a Pisgah-top, whence not Canaan only, but its contiguous confines, the emporia whence it fetched its imports, and the lands in which their various races were cradled, lay stretched out as on a map before him. If his judgment appear more favourable to Ewald and less so to Gesenius than that which we have previously offered, it is not essentially different. But this distinction may be suggested, that Nordheimer decides in the spirit of the pure grammarian, whose supreme law is the perfecting of his science: we have regarded it in its immediate bearings on the interpretation of those precious documents from which the language itself derives its pre-eminent and inexpressible importance. Viewed in this light, the matter stands thus: Ewald's method was, in theory, the more scientific, but his actual results were usually less free from dross. He seized, before Gesenius, the thought of the age, but he failed to realize it in his first attempt. And if Gesenius needed Ewald as a spur to his own progress and an instrument to his own proficiency, which is in a measure true, he attained in this way to a comprehensiveness of which Ewald still falls short, and to which it is probable he never will attain. The full light of day shone first on Ewald, but the faculty of walking in it is more perfect in Gesenius. However, let us hear Nordheimer:

‘ Ewald was the first who showed to any considerable degree that the modern improvements in philology have extended to the Hebrew—a language that has of late years attracted an increasing share of notice, particularly since its acquisition has been facilitated, and its importance to the philologist enhanced, by the learned labours of Gesenius. But the very attention thus drawn to the Hebrew caused it sooner to be perceived, that the illustration of its grammatical structure, even after the publication of the copious and well arranged *Lehrgebäude* of the latter scholar, was far from being complete. In fact the demand was for a grammar which, adopting as its basis the eternal laws of speech disclosed by a profound study of comparative philology, should investigate the manner in which the phenomena presented by the language are originated, and the means by which they are rendered capable of answering the ends of their production.

‘ When a work of this description is required, the execution of the *Kritisches Lehrgebäude* will neither justify its title, nor answer public



expectation. The chief merit of its author consists in extensive and accurate researches into the Hebrew and its cognate dialects, a careful collection and judicious arrangement of their grammatical phenomena, and an occasional indication of some point of mutual resemblance. Great as were the comparative merit and utility of this work at the time of its appearance, and which still in a good degree remain undiminished, it is by no means calculated to meet the requisitions of the present age, in which reason is made to triumph over memory. When called upon to state appearances which differ more or less from what the preconceived notions of the occidental grammarian would lead him to expect, its author seldom undertakes to explain the manner of their origin, but is content to adduce the existence of the same or of similar forms in the cognate Aramaic or Arabic. This characteristic feature of Gesenius, which in all probability arises from a peculiar bent of mind acquired from his long continued lexicographical labours, is exhibited even in the latest edition of his smaller Grammar, where, instead of the much desired explanation of some difficult point, the reader is presented with a similar appearance in various other languages. This mode of illustration is far better adapted to lexicography, in which Gesenius confessedly stands preëminent, than to grammar. Indeed in the latter branch of philology no essential progress can be considered as having been made, until the internal causes on which the genius of a language depends have been discovered and displayed, and its so called irregularities either reduced to an inconsiderable number, or entirely explained away.

These considerations appear to have presented themselves in all their force to the inquiring mind of Ewald, and to have excited in him that noble desire to bring about the required improvement which resulted in the production of the *Kritische Grammatik*. It is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the beneficial effects which this work has wrought upon the study of the Hebrew, since it is well known that from its appearance dated the commencement of a new and important era in Semitic philology. Ewald had the merit of proving by means of his ingenious work that the Hebrew both admits and deserves a philosophical investigation, and that its peculiarities, which were before regarded as inexplicably mysterious, may be analyzed and reduced to principles founded in nature. His bold and keen spirit of research has opened a rich mine of discovery, from which he has extracted many a brilliant elucidation of the deepest obscurities of Hebrew grammar.

Yet, notwithstanding the high praise to which this writer has so just a claim for the boldness and originality of his conceptions, it cannot be denied that his performance is marred with many and serious defects. Indeed it appears to have been executed under the erroneous impression, that since the *Lehrgebäude* did not fully answer the wants of the age, its statements must either be utterly disregarded, or consulted only to be refuted; a supposition that has had the inevitable effect of often leading its adopter into the most glaring absurdities. In consequence of his eager search after novelty, his rules have become so multiplied, and frequently so vague and arbitrary, as to render his work totally unfit for the use of beginners; while to the critical reader it is completely evident that many of the laws he lays down, instead of being founded in the

nature of the human mind or in the genius of the language which is its offspring, are, notwithstanding the dogmatic and self-sufficient style in which they are couched, the exuberant product of a creative imagination, which extracts general principles from a few isolated facts, and applies them to the illustration of a whole class of phenomena, without their having acquired any other authority than the mere *ipse dixit* of their promulgator. Harsh as such remarks may sound when applied to a scholar of Ewald's abilities and acquirements, we feel confident that the impartial examiner of his grammatical writings will meet with abundant proofs of their correctness. At the same time no animadversions of ourselves or others can lessen his real merit; and this we hold to consist rather in having been the first to subject the Hebrew to a philosophic mode of treatment, than in having brought its theory to perfection.'—*Nordheimer's Introduction*, pp. xviii.—xx.

These extracts pretty clearly indicate what we are to look for in the author's own work. Indeed his introduction states explicitly that he applied himself more particularly to effecting improvements in Hebrew grammar; that in forming his opinion he remained completely independent of both Gesenius and Ewald; that he did not shun the discussion of the most formidable topics that presented themselves, even to the minutest particulars; that he was never satisfied with the bare citation of parallel forms from the cognate dialects, but uniformly arrived at the establishment and application of the principle of the analogy; and that he believed that his inquiries had not unfrequently been rewarded by the discovery of new and important facts, which had enabled him to place matters that had been the subjects of much discussion in a clearer light. This is saying much, but the learned world has justified the high but not immoderate pretensions of the author. Dr. Robinson refers in his account to 'that method, and clearness and fulness of illustration which has since been generally acknowledged.' And we can assure the student who is in a condition to proceed to the study of the Hebrew on enlarged philosophical principles, or in other words, has studied the Greek classics in the light of Buttmann, Thiersch, or Kühner, and the Latin in that of Scheller, Ramshorn, or Grotefend, that of all the grammars we have seen, Nordheimer's is the best adapted to his use. It is not, to allude to some expressions of the author, a grammar whose sole merit consists in the degree of diligence employed in collecting the etymological and syntactical forms peculiar to the language, and the clearness of the arrangement in which they are displayed. It is one in which those leading principles which are rooted in the human mind as the essential common bond of all who speak with tongues on earth, and which are variously exemplified in the genius of particular languages, are applied to the external







instead of Göttingen. This defect, and the errors of the press, occasioned by its being set up by a compositor who did not understand English, are very serious drawbacks to the usefulness of the work, which is, however, a monument of the translator's enthusiasm in the cause of Hebrew learning, and is prefaced by an excellent introduction on the progress of Hebrew learning, and some other kindred subjects connected with the universities of northern Germany.

Conant's translation of Gesenius, as reprinted by Mr. Ward, is entitled to the praise of being, without exception, the best, the cheapest, and the most perspicuous Hebrew grammar which can be put into the learner's hands. The publisher may make it greatly superior to what it is, by incorporating the improvements of the last edition of the original. We wish that he were also encouraged to publish Gesenius's *Chrestomathy* in the same form; or, supposing that it were thought unnecessary to go to the expense of reprinting passages which every learner will have in his Hebrew Bible, we think that a translation of Gesenius's remarks upon those passages, attached as an Appendix to the Grammar, would considerably increase its usefulness.

When we were first informed that Mr. Ransom intended to publish a new Hebrew Grammar, it seemed to us that he was about to perform a work of supererogation, and we feared that he would lose both oil and labour. We understood, however, from information entitled to our confidence, that it was a work deserving of encouragement. In some respects, it is so. Mr. Ransom tells us in his preface, that his chief object in preparing his work was to furnish a systematic treatise on the vowel points;—one which should exhibit, in a connected form, 'the diversified changes which the vowel points suffer in the various processes which they undergo, and develop the principles which operate in those changes.' This subject is accordingly handled in a separate part, and occupies fifty pages (from 113 to 163) of his volume. The chapter headed 'vowel changes,' in Nordheimer, occupies but seven pages, equivalent perhaps to twelve of Mr. Ransom's: and the particular exemplifications are scattered throughout the work. It is much the same in Gesenius, only that he is a little fuller than Nordheimer in the general treatment of the subject, see his §§ 24 to 28, inclusive. Mr. Ransom has therefore performed a useful work in the preparation of a systematic digest of these minute phenomena. We could have wished, indeed, that he had confined himself to it, and published the result as a separate treatise, which would have made a useful supplement to all other grammars. But he also intimates in his preface, that he considers them as being, without exception, either too exclusively elementary, or too exclusively



critical; and that a grammar was wanted which, while it met the inquiries of students somewhat advanced in the language, should be adapted to initiate learners into it. Speaking generally, we may say that the whole of Mr. Ransom's grammar, not excepting the part on the vowel changes, is of an elementary character. The author's usual method is to fill up a brief outline of heads and particulars. Thus, in § 4, the 'letters are classed—1., according to the organs by which they are enounced; 2., according to certain peculiarities belonging to them; 3., according to their relation in the words which they represent;' and each of these classes is subdivided and further illustrated under its own head. This method, which aids both the understanding and the memory, was that usually pursued by the older grammarians, who were uniformly very systematic. Erpenius, for instance, in his *Grammatica Arabica*, lib. i. cap. 2, 'de divisionibus literarum,' says: *Dividuntur hæ literæ multifariam, ratione scilicet pronuntiacionis, roboris, affinitatis, officii, et societatis*, and then proceeds to state particulars in order. Schroeder, also, in his Hebrew grammar, uses this same method very generally. Approving it, however, as Mr. Ransom does, we wonder that he has not carried it out more consistently, by arranging the twenty three chapters of his accidence under their appropriate headings. Instead of this, he proceeds from the 'elements of pronunciation (ch. ix.) to 'words—parts of speech in general,' (chap. x.) as if their connexion with each other was just as close as that of each to its other neighbour; and without making it apparent, by suitable headings, that the learner passed in chap. x. from the Elements of Reading to those of Etymology. For the same cause we are also surprised that he adopted the thirteen declensions of Gesenius, instead of a classification, which would have distinguished larger and lesser differences more perfectly, and so have aided the intellect as well as the memory. There are also a few other points on which either intentionally or through oversight, the author has not been so discriminating as we think he should have been. We miss, for instance, any notice, at least there is none in page 37 or 39, in one of which we expected to find it, of the rarer species of verbs. There is no adequate general statement concerning the roots of the language. Now this is quite as important to scientific clearness, as a combined view of the vowel changes, and would have thrown much light on the system of the language with very little trouble. There are, here and there, particular points inaccurately stated, apparently for want of a little deeper investigation: as chap. ix., where the author says, 'ז appears to have had two sounds among the ancient Hebrews. The harder sound is that of *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as גֹּמֶר *Gomorrhah*;



its softer is like that of  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$  *Eli*.' Now, we do not believe that the softer sound was like that of  $\aleph$ . It is true, that in the Septuagint the two sounds were so given; but *Eli* was not written, because  $\aleph$  had the power of  $\aleph$ , but because the Greek language did not possess the very peculiar sound which  $\aleph$  had in that word. We must say here as Gesenius says of the expression of  $\aleph$  by  $\text{'O}\delta\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu$  in the Septuagint: 'whence, however, it by no means follows that this is the true pronunciation.' Did we look only to the Arabic, we should be drawn to the conclusion, that in the *Ain* and *Ghain* of that language we have the two powers of  $\aleph$  distinguished. The distinction is rendered indubitable, however, by a fact which Gesenius has noticed in his *Lehrgebäude*, on the authority of some Rabbinical writers. 'The sound of  $\aleph$  is peculiar to the languages of the Shemitic family, &c.... Soon therefore after the language died out of constant use, we meet with complaints concerning its difficult and inaccurate pronunciation. The Talmud remarks, that whole families and provinces did not know how to distinguish it from  $\aleph$  and  $\pi$ , and would have such stammerers debarred from speaking the benediction in public.' (Lehrg. pp. 18, 19, where the Rabbinical authorities are given.) Still, Gesenius seems to think that the smooth sound of  $\aleph$  was even in ancient times probably weaker than that of the Arab *Ain*, because the modern Aramaean pronunciation is so. This point must remain doubtful. We possess proof that in matters of pronunciation, the Hebrew formed a kind of middle way between the Arabic and Aramaic, see Nordheimer, § 113. That in Aramaic this letter has many of the properties of the quiescible letters does not, however, necessarily imply that its distinct proper sound is to be disregarded, for the same is true in Arabic. De Sacy (*Grammaire Arabe* première édition, § 43,) says: 'Il y a beaucoup de rapport entre la prononciation du *Ain* et celle de l'*elif* avec le *hamza* ou du *hamza* seul, si ce n'est que le *Ain*'s *article plus fortement*.' Yet this does not prevent his attempting to give an idea of its peculiar sound by comparing it to the effort made when we swallow with difficulty; while Golius, if we remember rightly, compares its pure vocal tone to that of a calf bleating after its mother, and Freytag, in his *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Hebr. Sprache*, says, it is 'like the bleating of an old sheep.'

The style of Mr. Ransom's grammar is susceptible of great improvement. Many statements want precision, and the meaning is equivocal. For instance, in § 39 he says, that *Raphe* 'occurs in Hebrew MSS., but except in a very few instances, is not found in printed copies of the Bible.' Now, a mere learner would be in doubt whether the author meant to say that *Raphe*, when it occurs in printed editions, occurs less frequently than in

MSS., or that it occurs in but a few editions only. In § 5, he says: 'the Hebrew alphabet consists wholly of consonants, the vowels being left to be supplied by the knowledge of the reader.' The continuation of the paragraph shews that he is here speaking of what was the case when Hebrew was a living language, but the fact he is describing should have been accurately stated in its proper place. Had he merely said, 'the vowels being originally left,' no misconception could occur. In § 433, we read: 'the vowels in the process of composition suffer various changes. What these changes are, together with the causes which produce them, are now to be exhibited.' How much better would it have been to have written, 'these changes, and the causes which produce them, are now to be exhibited.' In § 434, we read, 'FIRST. None but mutable vowels can suffer change.' Good! 'What vowels are mutable will appear from a description of those that are immutable. Immutable vowels, then, are,' &c., &c. How wordy and circuitous is this. And how was it that the distinction between mutable and immutable vowels is first stated in § 434, after the etymology has been treated in detail?

The two main points, however, which Mr. Ransom intended, he has creditably performed. The part upon the vowel changes is a very useful digest, and the thought of compiling it was a very happy one. To bring it to perfection, it is worthy of Mr. Ransom's unwearied diligence and care. He will do well to make it complete as a collection of phenomena, and to bring to its elucidation the spirit of Nordheimer's researches. The principal elementary and etymological facts are also presented in his accidence, unincumbered with controverted questions. This is well. At least it is well to have such a Hebrew accidence. But we doubt if its principal service is not restricted to its use by boys, or youths of undeveloped mind. In the case of educated youth, Gesenius or Nordheimer yield the more valuable aid. In their grammars, information goes hand in hand with the lessons and tasks of a higher discipline. Peculiar forms are accounted for as they occur, and nothing is proposed as a mere burden for the memory. Still for those whose memories need cultivation, Mr. Ransom's method is well adapted. One thing is there attended to at a time, and when the memory has mastered the leading facts, the intellect will be left at liberty to seize those principles which will facilitate the acquisition of the rest. Sometimes the combined study of the first and second parts, as recommended by the author in his preface, will answer well. No method is invariably advantageous. Perhaps one of the chief advantages of Mr. Ransom's arrangement is, that it allows of either method at the teacher's or the learner's choice.



In conclusion, we thank him very sincerely for his volume, which shows that the study of the Hebrew is alive in those institutions which are presumed to be the most directly practical in their preparation of students for the Christian ministry.

It has been stated that the study of Hebrew experienced a wide revival in this country, though in some quarters we presume but a temporary one, through the interest felt by many private Christians in unfulfilled prophecy. The number of private persons who, in this country, have paid some attention to the language, has probably always been considerable, since Lowth published his *Isaiah*, but the result has been by no means considerable. Parkhurst's *Lexicon* being in English, and promising the delusive facilities of the unpointed system, came into great request, especially among those who were attracted by the subtleties and mysteries of Hutchinson, whose views it expounded with ability. Parkhurst's day has gone down. Still the religious interest in Hebrew survives; and we shall conclude this article with some brief direction to those who may be anxious to acquire the language, but know not how to set about it. The first thing then which we should advise, is to get a tutor, if possible, were it only for the sake of learning to read without a painful loss of time and labour. The learner need not, in the first instance, be solicitous about a grammar. Let him begin with Keyworth's *Principia*, and with or without a tutor's aid, (but it will be far better with,) go through it by means of the key. If any interest in the grammar arises, Pinnock's catechism will answer every purpose till he can translate the Hebrew text of the *Principia* into English, and retranslate it into Hebrew. We attach great importance to the latter exercise of learning the Hebrew of a correct English translation. The various forms are more distinctly recognised when the Hebrew, rather than the English, is thus made the object of attention. When he has thus become familiar with Keyworth, he is ready to read the prose of the Old Testament. We would then recommend him to procure Conant's Gesenius, noticed in this article, and read the *Chrestomathy* through, carefully studying every reference in the grammar. When these are translated, and the student can give the Hebrew for the English, as well as the English for the Hebrew, he may get Hahn's small 8vo. Bible, or D'Allemand's edition of Vanderhooght, (if the type be not considered too small, the former is preferable, on account of the way in which the poetical portions are printed,) and Gesenius's *Lexicon*, by Robinson, or Gesenius's or Winer's *Hebrew-Latin Lexicon*, if he read Latin, and persevere in translating with a sedulous attention to the grammatical principles exemplified. Mr. Ransom's treatise on the vowel changes will also render



him good service when he goes to the Hebrew text itself, without the aid of a prepared analysis. In this way he cannot fail of attaining his end. He may even abridge this course if he please: he may go, if he prefer it, from Keyworth immediately to the Bible, and Mr. Ransom's grammar. But there is one point he must make up his mind to; he must work diligently and perseveringly, or he will fail. If he have a teacher who understands the language, his difficulties will be greatly diminished; but, provided he set out with a correct pronunciation, diligence in private study will achieve the rest. 'Prayer, pains, and patience,' as the indefatigable Eliot said long ago, 'with the blessing of God, will do anything.'

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Art. II. *Diary of the Times of Charles II., by the Honorable Henry Sidney, (afterwards Earl of Romney,) including his Correspondence with the Countess of Sunderland, and other distinguished persons at the English Court; to which are added Letters illustrative of the Times of James II. and William III.* Edited with notes by R. W. Blencowe, Esq., A.M. In two volumes. London: Henry Colburn.

THE reign of Charles the Second constitutes the most disgraceful period of English history. Other epochs have been characterized by the absence of public virtue on the part of rulers, or by apathetic indifference to the securities of popular freedom, on the part of the people, but there have usually been some redeeming elements, some circumstances of greater or less prominence which have seemed to relieve the dreariness of the scene, and to betoken the better state of things which was in reserve. No such relief, however, is afforded in the period which intervened between the restoration of the Stuarts and the accession of the last member of that infatuated house. Commencing in perfidy, it deluged the land with licentiousness, intolerance, and cruelty, and gave birth to a race of pigmy statesmen whose intellectual stature was as dwarfish as their principles were low-minded and base. The infected atmosphere of the Court spread itself through all grades of society, corrupting female virtue, poisoning the spring-heads of patriotism, darkening the intellect of the nation, and rendering religion itself the mere tool of servile and ambitious priests. A pestilence far worse than the plagues of Egypt spread over the land, and impiety and every foul crime walked forth unmasked in open day. The nation had shown itself unworthy of its recent visitation, and it was as though the Supreme Being, in righteous displeasure, had given it over to the dominion of divers lusts and passions. The redemption wrought for it from civil tyranny had

been permitted to degenerate into military despotism, while its freedom from the galling shackles of priestly rule had given occasion to religious hypocrisy and formalism. The glory of the movement had passed away, even before Charles Stuart returned to pollute our soil. The substitution of military rule for popular representation prepared the way for the unreflecting and disgraceful loyalty which followed; and the mistaken attempt to suppress irreligion and to foster piety by acts of parliament, while it compelled a reluctant submission to outward forms, strengthened in the great mass of the people an aversion to religion itself. Extenuating circumstances may no doubt be alleged in vindication of the policy of Cromwell and of the religionists of his day. The necessities of his position and the confused views yet entertained of the spiritual nature and distinct province of religion are of this kind, yet, after all, their force is only partial, and cannot avail to justify the course which was pursued.

Throughout the period of the commonwealth and the protectorate, there was unquestionably an amount of religious principle in the nation far exceeding what had previously been known. The number of the sincerely religious was, however, even then comparatively small, and the religious profession of the day was in consequence in no inconsiderable measure mere formalism and hypocrisy. Restrained in an unnatural position, partly by the direct coercion of law, and partly by the force of government example and influence, the body of the people were prepared for the rebound which took place when impiety and licentiousness, in the shape of restored and episcopal monarchy, proclaimed their return to power. It was a fearful reaction which followed, for the personal character of the monarch and of his associates gave additional force to the deleterious influences which were in operation. Under any circumstances the result could scarcely have failed to be pernicious, but the licentiousness of the court gave a currency to vice which laughed morality to scorn, and the intolerant bigotry of state priests silenced—so far as human power and vigilance could silence—the only men by whose ministerial fidelity and diligence, an effectual check to the demoralizing influences afloat might have been interposed.

The volumes now before us, are confirmatory of the view given of this period by numerous other witnesses. The insight which they afford into the condition of the Court, and the principles of public men, is similar to that supplied by the pages of Evelyn and Pepys. The domination of female influence, and that too, of the worst kind; the sanction afforded to the licentiousness of the monarch, by the debased moral tone of all about him, the pecu-

niary corruption of his ministers, and the selfish and low-minded ambition which superseded all the nobler aspirations of patriotism, are conspicuous throughout the diary and letters. The European reputation of England was at its lowest ebb; and the French king, partly by bribes, and partly by insulting threats, was more potent in the English court than Charles himself. That degraded monarch, lost to every feeling of honour, and contemptuously regardless of the welfare of his people, was by turns cajoled and browbeaten by his ambitious and unscrupulous neighbour. Such was the condition of the nation at the time to which these volumes refer, and we proceed to put our readers in possession of some portion of their contents.

The Honourable Henry Sidney, the author of the Diary now published, and the person to whom most of the letters contained in these volumes were addressed, was the younger son of the Earl of Leicester, and brother of the celebrated Algernon Sidney. He was born at Paris, in 1640, and soon after the restoration was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber, in the household of the Duke of York. From this post, however, he was abruptly dismissed, in consequence of one of those disgraceful intrigues, then unhappily too common: and remained for some years estranged from the Court. After the death of the first Duchess of York he returned, and through the favour of the king obtained the office of Gentleman and Master of the Robes, with a handsome salary of £5,000, a year. In 1678, he had the command of a regiment conferred on him, and in the following year was appointed envoy to the States of Holland. In this situation he remained about two years, and was skilful enough at once to retain the favour of the English monarch, and to acquire that of the Prince of Orange. During his absence he was elected member for Bramber, in the parliament which met, October 20th, 1680, and according to the statement of Rapin,—though there is some difficulty in reconciling the alleged fact, with the dates of several letters contained in the second of these volumes,—took an active part in support of the Exclusion Bill. However this may have been, the part he afterwards acted in forwarding to the English government the memorial of the States, on the rejection of that bill by the House of Lords, was highly offensive to the court, and induced his recal. It was not probable that the course pursued on this occasion would be forgotten by so implacable a prince as James; and Sidney, therefore, soon after the accession of the duke, was, according to Bishop Burnett, ‘so apprehensive of the dangers that he might be cast into, that he travelled nearly a whole year in Italy.’ As the affairs of England approached their crisis, he moved nearer to the scene of action, and became the channel of com-



munication between the disaffected lords, and the Prince of Orange. He accompanied the expedition of that prince to England; and, immediately after the proclamation of William III., was invested with various offices, and speedily created Viscount Sidney and Baron Milton. The most interesting portions of the diary and correspondence here presented to the public, were written during his residence at the Hague.

In the early part of the journal, frequent allusions are made to the state of parties in the English court, and the opinions of the leading ministers on events of the greatest political importance, are briefly stated. The general feeling, save amongst the few who constituted the clique of the Duke of York, is represented as favourable to a visit from the Prince of Orange; while Sir William Temple is reported, June 17th, 1679, to have convinced the king that it was necessary to part with Lord Lauderdale. 'Afterwards,' says the Journalist, 'he proposed my Lord Danby getting away, as a thing necessary for his affairs. He seemed inclined to it, and I am to know how the Prince (of Orange) would receive him there.' The following, under date of June 26th, 1679, reveals the miserable state of thralldom in which the affairs of the nation, were at this period held.

'Lord Halifax told me he thought it would be a good thing if the prince would come over, and just upon the meeting of parliament, not knowing that it had ever been spoken of before. Lord Sunderland told me that the Duchess of Portsmouth was unsatisfied with the prince; and desired me to advise him to write to her, and make some application to her, for that she will be of great use to us, particularly against the Duke of Monmouth; and I am to let him know how instrumental she hath been in changing the council, and in several other things. In short, I am to tell him that she is one Lord Sunderland does make use of, and that he must do so too if he intends to do any good with the king. She hath more power over him than can be imagined. Nobody can excuse what she hath done, but I hope well from her for the future. He thinks it necessary for him to see the duke before he comes over; but it must be a good while before, or else it will give great suspicion here. When he does see him, he is to persuade him either to turn protestant himself, or else not to take it ill of him if he falls into that interest, which is the only thing that can support him and his daughter.'

— vol. i., pp. 15, 16.

Lord Danby was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, under an impeachment of the Commons.

'I am to let the prince know,' Sidney subsequently remarks, 'that, the Lord Shaftesbury is not of our party, but, that he is a good tool to work with, and that there is nothing to be done in a parliament without him. He makes the finest promises

that can be, and confesses that there were faults committed in the last session, which he hopes will be repaired in the next.'

A design appears to have been entertained by some of the ministers, of investing the prince with an English dukedom, and of conferring on him, 'all the dignities and rights of the third son of England.' By this means it was hoped to counterpoise the influence of the Duke of York, and to retain nearer the throne a member of the royal family whose protestantism was beyond question. The scheme, however, failed of accomplishment, though afterwards revived—in part at least—with more probability of success.

Every reader of English history, is acquainted with the melancholy death of the Earl of Essex, who was imprisoned in the Tower, in 1683, on suspicion of being engaged with Lord Russel, and Algernon Sidney, in the Rye House Plot. These volumes furnish several illustrations of the constitutional melancholy which tinged his lordship's views, and thus serve to correct the influence which might otherwise be drawn from his tragical end. We refer to this nobleman now, only for the purpose of introducing a letter which he addressed to Charles II., July 21, 1679, and which does infinite honour to his fidelity as a counselor, and his firm attachment to constitutional liberty.

'Since my coming to town I have heard of many discourses here, concerning the new company of guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for this next session of Parliament; and that upon this occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. 'Tis commonly said this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head men which may suddenly be raised; that this is an illusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and soldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have, that any design is on foot of governing by an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose again that credit by forming this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise. Now if monies shall be saved all other ways, and force increased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when, in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being increased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses? I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath

on the Treasury, for we do clearly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there, but 'tis certain now they do it with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speak nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept what I have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aim of your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant.'—vol. i., pp. 36—39.

Public decency has recently been outraged by the wholesale corruption of large sections of the electoral body, and the disclosures made have impressed the sounder portion of the community, with the imminency of the danger which threatens us from this quarter. It is not, however, to be supposed that this evil is of modern growth. Recent events may have given it unwonted vigour, but it is unhappily traceable through most periods of our parliamentary history. The following letter to Mr. Sidney, from an electioneering agent, reveals the same course of cajolery and corruption as obtained for our present premier at the last election his boasted parliamentary majority. We quote it for the purpose of shewing that the evils in question are of long standing, and of awakening our readers—by the barefaced exhibition which the letter supplies—to a due sense of the enormity of the practices referred to. After informing Mr. Sidney that his brother Algernon had interested himself on behalf of another candidate, but that by 'the powerful charms of feasting and drinking' so great interest was obtained, that Mr. Peirey Goring consented to desist, if he might have his charge reimbursed, which was readily consented to,' the letter-writer continues:

'The charge he was at, he says, was £80, which I have engaged to pay this week; 'twas more than we thought it could have been, but it is not to be imagined what those fellows, their wives, and children will devour in a day and night, and what extraordinary reckonings the taverns and alehouses make, who, being burgers, are not to be disputed with on that point. And now, Sir, I am coming to tell you we have spent you almost £200 more, and have been no ill husbands neither; but, if we had not met with the difficulties aforesaid, half this expense would have served. And, if ever there should be the like occasion, you are sure of Bramber; for Peirey, I reckon, has passed over his interest for ever: they long very much to see you, when you come over (which I begin to hope to hear of); Mr. Pelham and I have engaged they shall have that satisfaction; Mr. Pelham was so kind as to go over with me, and came again the day of election, though very wet. Sir Jo. sent over half a buck, with which we treated bravely. I made it an article that the gentleman should declare amongst the Burgers that he did desist, and that he would take it as well if they were for you as for him; and, to do



him right, he owned a great respect for your family, and in particular for yourself; and, if they would choose a stranger, he knew none more worthy; but this could not be brought into example to leave the neighbours and gentlemen of the country; but he having his residence at Maidstone, we thought him as much a stranger as you, Sir.

'I have now given you an account of all the most serious parts of this affair; there are many things I might add, which are too long and impertinent, and therefore I shall say no more of that matter, unless I beg leave to tell you that you would have laughed to see how pleased I seemed to be in kissing of old women, and drinking wine with handfulls of sugar, and great glasses of burnt brandy, three things much against the stomach, yet with a very good will, because, to serve him I most honoured.'—vol. i., pp. 117—119.

The inherent wickedness of the bribery system might suffice, one would imagine, to render it an object of abhorrence to every virtuous mind; and yet there is reason to fear lest its extensive prevalence may serve to diminish this feeling. What is generally, and for a long period practised, comes to be regarded as innocuous, or at least as inevitable, while the temporary triumph which bribery sometimes secures, causes many to connive at its employment who would not openly justify its use. We have known and could specify instances of this kind, but we forbear. Suffice it to remark, that the employment of bribery by the friends of liberty is a suicidal act for which nothing can atone, and on which posterity will pronounce its severest curse. The strength of the liberal cause is found in the enlightened and virtuous sentiments of the community, and whatever serves to weaken these, which bribery most obviously does, is unfriendly to human liberty, whatever temporary purpose it may serve. We have been led into these remarks from an apprehension lest the example of our opponents should prove contagious. Should it do so, an irreparable injury will be inflicted on the popular cause, for which a few party triumphs will afford but a paltry compensation.

Considerable light is thrown by the Journalist on the relations of the Duke of York, both to his brother and to the Prince of Orange, as also on the position of the Duke of Monmouth, and the views of the English ministers generally. From the numerous references made to these parties, most of which are very brief, it is obvious that there was an utter want of that confidence which springs from mutual esteem. Innumerable antagonistic influences were perpetually at work, the unsteady mind of the king keeping true only to one point, the indulgence of his pleasures and the gratification, so far as was consistent therewith, of the wishes and policy of his brother. Returning from the Hague to London, in the autumn of 1679, Mr. Sidney

records his waiting upon the king, who complained of the Prince of Orange, 'that he would not be persuaded.'

'At night,' he adds, 'I was with my Lord Sunderland; he told me the whole story of the Duke; how the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings and the Earl of Shaftesbury were not to be endured; that if the King had died, he would have made great troubles, either setting up for himself, or for a commonwealth. That the parliament was to be prorogued; Lords Essex and Halifax discontented. He thinks matters do not go so ill as we think. The Duchess of Portsmouth I find is not well with the Prince, but extremely well with the Duke. The King kinder to him than ever; he is to come back out of Scotland, and never to go again; he thinks to quiet everything by his going. The Duke of Monmouth will come back when the Duke does.'—vol. i., p. 176.

Writing to the prince, November 10th, he gives a dismal view of the state of affairs; the king unwilling to convene a parliament, Lord Essex intending to quit office, Lord Halifax 'sick and out of humour,' and Sir William Temple never coming to 'councils or into any company.' It required only, to consummate the disorder, that we should be informed, as is done immediately afterwards, 'the duchess of Portsmouth has more power than ever.' On the 16th, we have the following entry:—

'At night I was with the King: he told me I should inform the prince of the measures he intended to take, but that it was plain he could not let the Parliament sit above a week; that it was better not meeting than parting angrily; that he knew they would impeach the duke, and fall upon all that he considered right; that they would be glad to mutiny, and only wanted a head, which the Parliament would be; that he hoped this violence would wear off, and then he should be glad to meet his Parliament: in the mean time, he said, he intended to live upon his revenues, and do all he can to satisfy his people. In the evening, my Lord of Essex told the King of his intentions to quit. He said little to him, but was horribly vexed.'—vol. i., pp. 188, 189.

The return of the duke to London, though regarded with dread by the English ministers on account of his unpopularity, was productive of an apparent improvement in the state of affairs, which concealed from the notice of most observers the volcano that was beneath. 'The duke,' writes the Earl of Sunderland to Mr. Sidney, 'falls into all our measures, so much beyond what we could expect, both at home and abroad, that I will venture to say the king's affairs are in a better condition than they have been these seven years. For we apprehended only that he would have disordered them, but we find on the contrary. Take this upon my word, for I do positively affirm it to you.'

He therefore requests the English envoy to advise the prince to 'write kindly and submissively to the king and the duke;

that he depends upon them, and that they may dispose of him.'

Whatever may have been the real state of the prince's feelings towards his father-in-law, he does not seem at this period to have formed any project to supersede him on the English throne. Many proposals were made, many projects were suggested, and the possibility of such an issue must therefore have occurred to his mind. However this may have been, he scrupulously avoided giving countenance to the views of his more zealous friends, at the same time that he refused to concur in those schemes of the English Court which he deemed incompatible with the liberty of Europe. Mr. Sidney was on the best, and so far as their positions allowed, the most confidential terms with the prince. He was known to be attached to his party as distinct from that of the duke; and the following record, under date of November 3d, 1680, is therefore of importance on this point:—

' At seven I was with the prince. I told him all our affairs, and endeavoured to persuade him to come over, but I could not prevail. He told me he saw plainly that he was very likely to be deprived of his right in England, and at the same time to be undone here; but if the stake that he hath in this world were ten times greater, it should all go, rather than that he would save it by doing an ill thing. He thinks excluding the duke an injustice, and he would not advise the king to do it for all the world; he believes he shall be the first that will be undone, but he hopes God will give him patience, and have a care of him in all conditions. He spoke admirably, and it would have charmed any body to have heard him; in fine, he is convinced he may be a great prince if he does what he is advised to, and that he shall be undone if he does it not; but that he will rather choose that than do a thing against his conscience.'  
—vol. ii. p. 120.

It is well known to every reader of English history, that the project of excluding the Duke of York from the throne was in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. the turning point of political partizanship and action. In the parliament which met in October, 1680, a bill for the accomplishment of this object was introduced and carried rapidly through the Lower House, and many of the letters contained in the present collection refer to this all-engrossing theme. In the Upper House its reception was different. Lord Halifax led the opposition with more than his usual ability, and at the close of the debate, which extended to the then unusual hour of eleven o'clock, the measure was rejected by a majority of 63 to 30. How different this result was from the expectations, even of the best informed, may be gathered from a letter to Mr. Sidney, dated November 8, writ-



ten by the Countess of Sunderland his niece, and the wife of one of the king's ministers:—

‘ Every moment shows us plainly that what you were *desired to press is more necessary, and that, if the Prince will not come, he must never think of any thing here*, and he may as reasonably on a point of conscience resolve to *refuse any right that belongs to him*; for he can no more think himself accessory to this exclusion of the Duke, nor charge himself with it, than I can. The thing is already done, *and his part is only to come*, and prevent the confusion which otherwise we must of necessity fall into; and, to strengthen you with arguments, I must not omit letting you know one thing, that the City is resolved, the moment *the Bill has passed the House of Commons*, to come down and *petition the King*; when it is judged what must follow! If there be nothing to fix on, 'tis certain *the Duke of Monmouth must be the King*; and if the *Prince thinks it not worth going over a threshold for a kingdom*, I know not why he should expect any body should for him. The case is much changed since you were here; and a day's loss of his being here, for aught I know, may make it for ever *useless to the Prince*: therefore as he pleases. I will admit of no more ifs and ands. I would willingly go further than Holland to tell you my whole mind on this matter, because I wish you mighty well, and fancy if you could but see all that is to be seen, *the Prince would not be such an ass*; and so farewell.’—  
Vol. ii., pp. 122—124.

Six days afterwards, the same fair correspondent informs the English envoy of the bill having been cast out, and an extract from her letter is too characteristic to be omitted. The Earl of Sunderland, it must be borne in mind, had voted for the bill, and was in consequence under the displeasure of the King.

‘ *The King acts as if he were mad. The Bill was yesterday cast out of the Lords' House*, and our friend *is in great disgrace for giving his vote for the Bill*. All things are coming to the last confusion, in all appearance; but yet the *Commons* are the patientest, prudentest persons ever was. By the next post 'tis probable I may tell you more particularly, but at present *Lord Halifax is the King's favourite*, and *hated more than ever the Lord Treasurer was*, and has really deserved it. For *he has undone all*, and now *the Prince may do as he pleases*; for I believe his game has been, by his prudence and whatever you'll call it, lost—and he'll wish too late *his conscience had not been so tender*; but all this keep to yourself till you hear again. My Lord bids me tell you, and 'tis true, that his head aches so he could not write: as for news, 'tis most of it printed.

‘ The Bill for Exclusion was yesterday flung out of the Lords' House, for which the House of Commons have to-day adjourned, and will not move. What they'll do to-morrow, I know not; but yesterday they had resolved to take Tangier into their care, but I believe they'll think of other matters to-morrow. My Lord Halifax, who is the man has had the great share in this noble deed of flinging out the bill, did to-day offer an expedient for the House, which was banishing the Duke for five

years, in case the King lived so long. My Lord Shaftesbury offered another, which was divorcing the King. My Lord of Essex a third, which was for all the nobility to associate themselves in defence against popery. These with other heads are given to a committee to frame together to see what can be made of it.

'I have no more to say but that Lord Sunderland has gained immortal fame, which is better than any thing he can lose—and so farewell. Every day is like to furnish news enough.'—Vol. ii., pp. 125, 126.

The proceedings of the English Parliament were fully reported to the Prince, who, in a letter to one of the ministers, previously printed by Dalrymple, but wisely included in the present collection, remarks—'I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him! and grant that the King and his Parliament may agree, without which I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe.'

Lord Halifax was unquestionably the principal agent of the Court in accomplishing the rejection of the Exclusion Bill; and upon him, therefore, the indignation of the popular party was expended with no common violence. An address was voted to the King, praying for his removal from the royal councils, and some apprehensions were entertained lest, in the phrenzy of the moment, an attempt might be made to inflict a yet severer penalty. Halifax's views on this occasion appear to have been of a somewhat complex order. He was probably not unwilling to improve an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the King, at the same time that he was an advocate for a permanent abridgment of the royal prerogatives, rather than for an exclusion of the next heir to the crown. Indignant at the rejection of their measure, the Commons surrendered their judgment to the impulse of passion, and thereby afforded an opportunity to the Court, of which it was not slow to take advantage. A pretext for its dissolution was thus afforded, and the result was notified to Mr. Sidney, January 18th, by the Countess of Sunderland, in the following terms:—

'The Parliament is this day dissolved, and a new one is to be called to meet on the 21st of March, at Oxford. This I suppose will amaze you, as it does most here. I pray God send it may be for the best. So much for public news. Now as to our private concerns. In the first place, I must tell you *that all things here have a most dismal appearance*, as you will easily imagine, and *all lies upon Lord Halifax*, and, upon my conscience, *he deserves it*. A few days will, I believe, *show us that this day's Council is as desperate as possible*, and the effects as fatal to the King. Don't mistake me, *to him alone, for be sure England will save itself, and nothing be undone but the King*, who will be so. *As for our friend, he is as ill with the King as it is possible*, and I really believe he

is under a promise to Lord Halifax and Mr. Semor, who are the great and I think only Councillors in this plan to clear the Court of all the factions, for, so may it please you, are we and all of our minds called. But after all, I dare say the King will never be brought up to it, for you and I know what a spark he is at going through with anything; but he treateth us and my Lord at such a rate, that he has asked leave to sell his place; that is, the Duchess of Portsmouth has done it for him. To which there was not one, no, not one syllable returned, either Yes or No. But as to this part, pray speak not of it to the Prince or any one.

'The post is fast going, and I can't either advise you in your own affairs or tell you all; but, please God, I'll write at large next post of all our concerns. My Lord Salisbury to-day has quitted the Council. The town says, *Lord Halifax means to expiate his faults by going away*, and if he does, 'tis like the tale of the maid, who set her master's house on fire, and ran away by the light of it.'—Vol. ii., pp. 158—160.

Various schemes were at this time agitated, amongst which was the plan of a regency. Halifax was understood to be favourable to such an arrangement; and the following extract from a letter of Sir William Temple's shows that the King was supposed to incline to the same:—

'For what you say of some great matters being preparing here for the Prince, but that he cannot guess what it is, I cannot pretend to tell any thing, after having been here alone the last fortnight, but I suppose 'tis what the King and my Lord Chancellor tell every body since the dissolution of Parliament, that the King had resolved to propose something that should satisfy every body, and that I believe but the rest of an expedient that was thought of before that Parliament broke, and which, for aught I know, might have done then, but I doubt will not now. 'Tis, in short, for the Duke to have the name of King after the King's death, but the kingdom to be governed by a Protector and Council, and the Prince of Orange to be the Protector. If this or any thing does, 'tis well; but if it fails, after having been proposed by the Court, it will have one effect, which some of the Prince's good friends will be glad of, which is to make it believed that the Prince is as perfectly in the Duke's interest as they would have it thought and give out upon all occasions.'—Vol. ii., pp. 177, 178.

In June, 1681, Mr. Sidney was recalled from the Hague, and our last extract shall be taken from his letter, addressed to the Prince, on the 28th of that month. From its whole complexion, it is obvious that the English Ministers were becoming increasingly solicitous to secure their interest with the Prince. Though the court party had triumphed for a season, it could scarcely fail to be perceived that the course of events was doubtful in the extreme. The elements of change were clearly at work, and what might be the issue no human sagacity could predict.

'It is very plain that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is



most against him ; that you have a constant correspondence with those (they call) his enemies ; that you drive a contrary interest ; in short, I believe there are some in the Cabinet Council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of this opinion ; they answered that they could not imagine there was such a villain, and such a fool too, amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe.

' I am apt to believe that these two Lords would not be so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially my Lord Halifax ; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said you were the only foundation one could build upon. That what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your Highness considerable service if he would ; upon which he solemnly promised to do his best.

' I will now make your Highness a short description of our Court and the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the King ; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day. They make him believe by their addresses that the affairs of the kingdom are in a very good posture, which is all wrong, for, now I understand them, I find they signify nothing, and they grow every day more ridiculous ; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is greatly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the Court (for he hath not a friend anywhere else), and is therefore obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination. My Lord Hide is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent ; despairs of being well with the King, if he is well with his people ; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counsels to make the breach more irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out.

' All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who, I am confident, are as much yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion your coming over will be of great advantage to you ; they differ something in the manner, but all agree that, there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it may do you any harm ; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax, I believe, would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming might be of use. I took no notice of it, and quickly passed it over ; it may be he will never think more of it ; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against

it, if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Duchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people.

'My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body. Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in.'—Vol. ii., pp. 212—219.

Before dismissing these volumes, it is due to Mr. Blencowe to say that the editorial department is executed in a style highly creditable to his diligence and impartiality. A large body of notes illustrative of the text is introduced, in the selection of which sound judgment and historical fidelity are equally apparent. The work itself is of considerable value, and must be referred to in all cases wherein a minute knowledge of the period in question is desired. Upon the character of many of the leading statesmen of the day, and on the leading events with which they were connected, it casts much incidental light, of which the future historical student will gladly avail himself.

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Art. III. *Jamaica: its Past and Present State.* By J. M. Phillippo, of Spanish Town, Jamaica. Twenty years a Baptist Missionary in that Island. 12mo, pp. 487. London: J. Snow.

How few of the great objects of human enterprise are rich with intrinsic worth; their merits are usually so dubious or obscure, as to render it unsafe to leave their reputation to depend on their own quiet pretensions. Therefore the resources of argument, of eloquence, of casuistry, of sophistry, and not unfrequently of far less deserving helps than the worst of these, are put in requisition to serve them; even then, too many of them are left without the least title to confidence or respect. There are a few, however, which need no laboured introduction, which awaken at their first appearance just admiration, and commend themselves without comment to the judgment and the heart. Among these stand pre-eminently Christian Missions. No reflective mind, imbued with reverence for revealed religion and with a generous interest in the welfare of the world, can fail to contemplate them with deep and sober delight. There is a defect somewhere in that man who, making pretensions to Christianity, can look in the full broad face of missionary enterprise, bright with its own glory, without something approaching to a sublime emotion.

The greatness of the Christian religion was most unequivocally asserted in the spirit and conduct of its first messengers, as well as in the meek triumph with which it emerged from the blazing fires of Roman persecution, and has more recently been seen in the inviolable life by which it survived the corruptions of the middle ages, but it never has been so appropriately expressed or so freely developed as in the breaking forth of the missionary design. There is a grandeur in the very idea of subduing the world, which reflects infinite honour on that system of truth out of which it could legitimately arise. It is an indication of innate and resident might, not common to theories of belief, and to schemes of improvement. It is an outward symbol of a presence more majestic than usually dwells amidst those themes which are the subjects of human thought and research. The rise of Christian missions constitutes a proud era in the moral history of Christianity itself; it is an event on which successive ages will look back, as to the date when evangelical truth put on its earliest signs of adult life, and gave manifest tokens of manly strength: when it first boldly but modestly asserted, to any great practical result, its sublime origin, by setting itself to a work beautifully appropriate to its nature and pretensions,—when it commenced a career of glory in keeping with its ineffable dignity and worth.

It is not pretended, at least by us, that the spirit of enterprise, of fine and noble daring, is the offspring of the Christian faith. This has existed and does exist perfectly independently of it. The purpose towards which it is directed may be more or less deserving, or may be altogether worthless, but the thing itself cannot, unless with those who talk before they think, be confounded with the end at which it aims. This quality is natural to some men, and is excellent in itself, irrespectively of the cause in which it embarks. It were as wise to decry the reasoning faculty, or to abuse the art of logic, because both the one and the other may be unsuitably employed, as to suspend a claim to magnanimity on the nature of the service done. The traveller who scales all but inaccessible heights, and traverses trackless wilds, that he may add to the common stock of knowledge—the mariner who plunges into the deep to rescue his companion from an untimely death, or otherwise to die with him—the poor honest artisan who is bowed down beneath the pressure of want and the frown of heartless tyranny, and yet who pines in silence and disdains to cringe at the feet of his oppressor, surely have some claim on our admiration for the magnanimity they evince. But any of these cases may occur in connexion with a total ignorance of true religion. Are there none among the professors of Christian truth who are mean,



selfish, calculating, whose greatness is relative rather than positive, lying in the truths they believe, but not at all in the parties believing them? Is it not often seen on the other hand, that men are better than their creed, greater than the errors, speculative or ethical, they theoretically entertain? The Christian faith is not to be promoted by demanding more for it than it asks, nor by building up its pretensions on the ruins of good, which may be quite extrinsic of it. All it proposes is, not to impart the spirit of magnanimity, but to draw it forth, and open for it a field incomparably more noble and wide than can invite it elsewhere. The greatness of missions is not, then, to be traced in the self-sacrifice, the enterprize, the untiring zeal they may require, since these are not peculiar to them, but may be demanded in equal and even still higher measure, at the hands of the daring sons of commerce, the earnest and honoured disciples of science, the bold and enlightened politician, or even by the bloodstained warrior himself; their greatness is rather to be sought in the vastness of the plan they meditate, in the nature of the motives they recognise, in the character of the work they attempt, and in the awfulness of the interests they involve. When, therefore, we have heard from the platform, or elsewhere, highly wrought descriptions of the sacrifices involved in consecration to missionary work, and tender appeals made to the passions, while the auditory has been requested to attend the devoted man through all the scenes of separation, we have trembled for the great cause such dramatic exhibitions have been intended to serve, and have longed for a more masculine and dignified carriage on the part of the advocates of so divine a design, lest they should provoke from sensible men the smile of ridicule, or nerve the finger of scorn.

This glorious adventure, daring as it may seem, is in deep sympathy with the broadest principles of the most enlightened reason. If the great system of doctrine which it is its object to commend be not only attended by the light of expediency, but be based upon immutable truth, and missions be but the legitimate result of this system, the nearer we approach and the closer we examine them, the more will they be found to command the ready concessions of the judgment. The quiet manner in which they began and the impressive silence with which they move, is in strict accordance with the kind of work they contemplate. They are not designed to interfere with the secular interests of men. Passing through these, however important they may be, they advance to their less visible but inconceivably more substantial concerns. They have chosen, as the scene of their labours and of their triumphs, the theatre of

mind. Thoughts, propensities, prejudices, habits, affections, tastes, are the realities with which they have to do. These stir and move behind the vulgar veil of sensible life, and need to be addressed and combatted by powers emerging from a region as impalpable as their own. Missions have taken their rise in the recesses of deep thought and solemn councils, and are pursuing their course, heedless of the din of minor interests, with a noiselessness which exquisitely comports with the character of their design. They spring, too, with admirable propriety, out of the moral constitution of things. They are not undertaken so much in obedience to the precept, as in conformity with the spirit of religion, not from a mere conviction of duty, but from a genial sense of obligation; and this is the only principle mighty enough to gender such a scheme, or to sustain it when adopted. Talent and learning, or proselyting zeal, may embark in the great cause and may for a season seem to secure success; policy, power, or wealth, may ply their best resources and produce their temporary results, but the cause of sacred truth depends for its promotion on those who love it, who are used to commune with it, and who, from an inward consciousness of its value, are sincerely anxious to impart it. The early foundations of Christian truth were laid by men, who, in answer to hostile powers could say, 'we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard;' and they but faintly represented one greater than themselves, who wept over Jerusalem, and whose meat and whose drink it was to 'do the will of his Father who was in heaven.' In the same temper, and by obedience to the same great and beautiful laws, must the progress of Christian truth be advanced on the earth; and whenever the missionary enterprise, taken up in this spirit, shall exchange for it the calculations of a frigid philosophy, its brightness will fade, its strength decay, and its claims to the consent of enlightened reason disappear. For what more consistent with the highest rules of propriety, than that those who are the recipients of inestimable blessings should long for their diffusion, and what is that measure of holy solicitude which, in the great instance before us, can be regarded as excessive.

The simplicity of the means by which the grand purpose of modern missions is pursued, commends them to every sound understanding. The preaching of the Gospel—the diffusion of corresponding knowledge—the use of reasoning, persuasion, kind remonstrance, the employment of those agents only who are morally qualified for the work, are among the kind of means which are strictly in keeping with their end. The adoption in this cause, of the ordinary methods which suggest themselves to ambitious, interested, secularly-minded men, is perfectly unphilosophic;

there is no relation between them, and any truly spiritual aim. The principle on which religious establishments rest, would sanction means in sympathy with the principle itself, but utterly at variance with sound reason, and with the genius of the Christian religion, and utterly impotent to its promotion. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive of a more humiliating spectacle to the vaunting hierarchy of England, than that which is presented in the history of missions. The sublime design, taking its rise without the pale of the endowed church, and pushed into motion by an impulse derived from the piety of those whom it affects to despise, has steadily proceeded till its fruits are gathered by almost every people under heaven, and its light invests the earth, and streams from the northern to the southern pole. These great results, which spread themselves before the eyes of all men, are the consequences of a principle directly contrasted with that which the advocates of a parliamentary church approve, and of means which they, if they act consistently with their professions, must condemn. Had that church been left to itself, the final judgment would have set before, from its constitution, or from its lordly patrons, the scheme of evangelizing a dying world would have sprung. It may carry the forms of its ritual and the curse of its monopoly where it is preceded by the arms of England, or anticipated by a legislative act, but left to the promptings of moral power, the unstimulated tendencies of its constitution, it could never become the harbinger of the kingdom of the great Son of God. While missions, wielded by voluntary societies, by episcopalians among others, have been raising their monuments in every land, and transforming the face of the nations, what has the English church, with all its pomp, patronage and wealth, been doing? Where are its corresponding trophies? Are they to be found in Ireland, in India, in the Western Islands? If haughty prelates, stately buildings, large revenues, and worldly policy, be the signs of Christian progress, the friends of the coercive system may possibly take courage; but if a large influx of men to their fold who fear God and hate iniquity be among the tokens of prosperity, never was a church left more destitute and forlorn. Surely thoughtful men, whether churchmen or dissenters, cannot but derive lessons of wise import from an honest study of the course of missions; a course which shews that the simplest means, under the guidance of a right principle, employed by appropriate hands, can effect more, in all that relates to the highest and dearest interests of the human family, than the united influence of crowns and mitres, or than the profoundest machinations of ecclesiastical politicians.

The foundations of Christian missions are yet more firmly laid



in the reason of things, by the dependence their advocates avow on the blessing of the Spirit of God. To venture on such a design as the restoration of a world to the favour and image of its Creator, a world too infested with every evil and steeped in selfishness and vice, were as absurd as to attempt to change the great laws of nature themselves. The man of science, the disciple of unaided reason, or the mere moralist, may exhaust his praiseworthy efforts, but he must leave mankind, however benefited, still estranged from God, and nothing but a divine energy will ever reclaim them. If the messengers of truth went forth in their own name, relying on their own arm, to grapple with the prodigious mischiefs which obstruct them and to accomplish the mighty work which is proposed by them, they might deserve the charge of folly and provoke the smile of contempt; but, let these silent operations, sustained by holy zeal, be carried out in the use of seemly means, in humble reliance on the Lord of Hosts, and they may challenge any rational objection, and steadily advance, exclaiming 'Where is the wise, where is the scribe, where is the disputer of this world.'\*

It cannot fail to have attracted universal notice, that the missionary design has grown out of orthodox opinions: a fact, the philosophy of which is well worthy the thoughtful inquiry of those by whom they are denied. It would seem to be reserved as a standing reflection on a lax theology and a faltering faith, that they should have no part in the origination of those great schemes which contemplate the highest happiness of men; that their utter impotency to the grand work of moral renovation should be written, as with a sunbeam, before the eyes of the nations. It is passing strange, that those views of divine truth, which are held to be violative of all reason, to gender uncharitableness and bigotry, to feed in the breasts of those who cherish them the spirit of wild enthusiasm, and to kindle a spurious

\* However a rooted aversion to the distinguishing truths of that religion, of which he professes to be a minister, might have induced the celebrated Sidney Smith to sneer, some fifty years since, through the 'Edinburgh Review,' at Christian missions, and to hold up to ridicule as far as he could, men whose learning and virtues he might well have imitated, it was scarcely to be expected that even he would have had the effrontery, in the face of facts now notorious throughout the world, to repeat his foolish predictions, and undignified allusions in a recent edition of his works. Surely this gentleman must be aware that, notwithstanding the empty vaunts and the coarse witticisms of the reviewer, missionaries in India as well as elsewhere have, by the results of their labours, answered the cavils of all objectors, and effectually put to silence 'the ignorance of foolish men.' We have no favour to ask on behalf of the great cause of missions, it is destined to survive the fame of its opposers, but we recommend the Reverend Sidney Smith if he have any regard for his own reputation, to expunge his falsified and very ridiculous prophecies from the next edition of his works.

and even idolatrous devotion, should suggest and sustain the most noble and generous purpose that ever occupied the mind of man. That, from amidst the disciples of this school, a spirit should arise and a mechanism be set up, whose presence and power are felt in remotest lands; that vast treasures should be raised—the scriptures of truth circulated and the breath of prayer constantly ascend—that to them should be committed the glorious work, and to them, under God, belong the unspeakable honour of diffusing the knowledge of Christ and him crucified through the world. When the advocates of that system of theology, if system it may be called, which is in such strict accordance with reason, which is so free from the taint of bigotry, which has such a morbid dread of enthusiasm, and which so carefully guards against an excess of devotion, have been moved to some design sympathetic with the grave intentions of revelation and with the wide spread spiritual miseries of men, they will be attended with a species of evidence in favour of the meagre divinity of their school, far more valuable and convincing than the eloquent sophistries of their purest and ablest writers.

This cause is not *accidentally*, but inseparably identified with specific views of inspired truth, and with that tone of heart which these views can alone induce. Its first projectors, were men eminent for their firm attachment to the great doctrines of the cross, and for the spirit of simple and fervent devotion. Among such characters, it has ever found its wisest, warmest, fastest friends; by such it was ushered into life, and, by such it has been nourished and sustained. If the genuine piety of the followers of Christ should increase, the interests of modern missions will advance; but, if that were to diminish, these would decline. It is not the least interesting feature in them, that they are at once the growth and the gage of the spirituality of the church.

The capabilities of Christian missions as engines of human improvement, are distinctly and brilliantly asserted, in the incidental benefits they confer. There have not been wanting in all times and in all states, men who, though negligent of the higher aspect of human interests, have lamented the heavy evils that afflict society and the fearful impediments which lie in the way of its improvement. Some have ventured, in the strength of their philosophy, in their more sanguine moments, to picture to their imaginations the arrival of the day, when ignorance and folly and crime would disappear, when reason would preside in the councils of states and the precepts of a purer morality regulate the conduct of men. Religion with such persons is a remote mysterious affair, which has exclusively to do with another life, but which is very slenderly connected with the present. But

the sources of human defection lie vastly deeper than these sages dream ; and are not to be dried up, or even effectually controlled, by the superficial though excellent schemes they approve. Those very corruptions in human nature, which unfit it for its future and higher destiny, and which call for the correctives and the discipline of revealed religion, are the fruitful causes of those mischiefs, of which on all sides we complain ; and that system of truth which teaches and inspires whatever is requisite to fit the erring pupil for the mightier and weightier interests, necessarily adapts him to the claims of the inferior and the lighter. A scheme of instruction which requires new and correct modes of thought, of feeling, and of action towards God, includes the cultivation of these towards men. It is the defect of all other systems that they aim too low, that they leave out of account the true cause of all the evil ; that they present no object of adequate importance to fill the mind ; that they offer no motives sufficiently pungent to animate and sustain the heart ; that they supply no element which has power to consume the great cardinal vices of our nature. But missions consulting in the first place the religious and eternal concerns of men, have effected without direct design, what other agencies, however good, have failed to do by the utmost concentration of effort. Those wide spread plagues which avarice, ambition, and lust, have inflicted on the world, which will yield to no ordinary influence, which have resisted alike, the power of reason and of legislation, have retired at the approach of missions. The hideous rites, and savage tastes of uncultivated hordes, have been exchanged for the spirit of the lamb. The fearful and mystic spell of bewildering superstitions, has been broken by their gentle stroke. It has been their honour, wherever they have been established, to advance the general well-being of man ; to teach the arts, and inspire the spirit of peace ; to commend habits of frugality and industry ; to impart the love of freedom ; and, at the same time, to instil the sentiment of obedience ; to fit men for domestic, social, and civil life. It seems as though it were the intention of providence, to exhibit the feebleness of all human contrivances and common appliances, to effect any permanent moral good. It is reserved for Christianity, even in the limited application of the phrase, to renew the world. It is for it, not in its nominal, but its unfeigned pretensions, to secure the true progress of society, to achieve the good which civilization is failing to secure, to breathe health into the universal mind, and give a tone and a worth to the morals of mankind ; it is for it to herald onward the great cause of liberty, to shed peace on the nations, and impart stability to thrones.

The progress of missions, is the death blow to infidelity. As



they advance they accumulate a mass of evidence on the side of Christianity, that unbelief cannot surmount; evidence too, of such a kind as the wildest scepticism cannot resist, and with which malignity itself knows not how to deal. It is difficult to overrate the able and elaborate works which have been written by distinguished men, in defence of revealed truth. Powerful thought, acute reasoning, deep learning and commanding eloquence, have been embarked against the subtilties, the sophistries, and the impieties of the enemies of the cross. The theorist had thrown his high and mighty bulwarks round the church, and raised his defence upon every line of attack. The resources of the ordinary mode of warfare, seemed exhausted. No new arguments could be adduced against, and little fresh evidence supplied in favour of, the disputed ground. The methods of assault adopted by the aggressor, and the fortresses built by the assailed, stood out before the spectators, and are now identified with the literature of the world. As this great contest was drawing to its close, and men were forming their opinions alike of the combatants and of the subject of their strife, a movement set in, whose efforts gradually developing themselves, were destined to be sympathetic with the great intellectual exertions of the advocates of the Christian faith, but which was to supply a class of evidence, in some sort, more valuable and effective than theirs. The arguments of the Christian schoolmen were, of necessity, for the most part addressed to the understanding; this was to appeal alike to it, and to the heart. The reasonings of the former, were adapted to one class only, the more intelligent and erudite; the appeals of the latter were to be universal, and to be made to a listening world. In the one case, the proof attempted was designed to lay bare the fallacies and undermine the reasonings of unbelief; in the other, the evidence adduced shows its deformity and discloses its malignity. The arguments of the theorist admit of no additional force, they are limited in their range and power; those of the experimentalist are capable of indefinite increase and are daily augmenting in strength. The one, is as a voice from the wisest oracles of earth; the other, is as an attestation from the great Master in heaven. Let but the work of missions quietly proceed, and the evidence in favour of Christianity derived from prophecy, from miracles, from history, from intrinsic beauty, sustained by that supplied from moral tendency, will throw disgrace on whatever resists it, and render it as impossible for unbelievers to subvert its foundations, as for them to unbuild the material universe,—the very attempt will become ridiculous.

It might be a curious, but not altogether useless essay, to endeavour to conceive the feelings with which an honest philosophic mind, which moves in an orbit far away from the region

of evangelical religion, would contemplate the progress of missions. It is easy to form an idea of the manner in which the superficial thinker, the idle jester, or the rancorous enemy of truth might dispose of the matter, and as easy to pity or despise their behaviour; but, it is far more difficult to realize that state of mind which would happen to the character supposed. Accustomed to look at things through his own clear but cold medium, and having not the least notion of those views and feelings, out of which such enterprises spring, they must present to his mind phenomena for which no rules with which he is acquainted can by any possibility account. He has, aided by the rays of history, traced the footsteps of the great Mahomedan imposture, has observed the delegate of heaven enforcing his commission by fire and sword. He is not ignorant of the *glorious* crusades. He has stood amazed at the once prodigious, but now declining, communion of the papal see. He has seen, in the light of sober fact, religion made the stepping stone to place and to fame, and used as an engine of mere political power. But, there is nothing in all this, however strange, that baffles him. He can see principles at work elsewhere, which, when applied in such relations, will account for these monstrous sights. He discerns in human nature the rudiments of those mischiefs, which time and circumstances have thus gigantically developed. But, when he turns to modern missions, it is in vain he attempts to resolve them into ignorance, selfishness, ambition, or besotted superstition. The man of feeble mind and rotten heart may do so if he please, but the truly philosophic observer cannot. His principles, his aptitude at sifting the laws of evidence, his integrity, will not let him. He can descry no point of resemblance between them and the mighty systems, which, like great dark clouds have risen above the horizon of time, changed their huge forms, spread their mists over all the hemisphere, or sunk in the bosom of the west. The temper in which Christian missions were begun, the characters by whom they are sustained, the weapons they invariably use, the catholicity of the mighty end they pursue, the voluntary support on which they lean, the union of all orders of mind embarked in their support, as well as the undeniable and benign influence they have exerted, present him with features peculiar to this grand service, and leave him at fault for a cause within the compass of his knowledge, sufficient to the production of the admitted effects. Let him pursue his inquiries with faithfulness and be determined to connect these great phenomena with sources adequate to their production and he will be led to conclusions to which the premises with which he was previously familiar could never conduct him, and into the midst of elements of thought more inspiring than any that the purest schemes of



human wisdom could suggest. He will be carried beyond the narrow limits which ordinarily bound him; and, turning aside, like the man of Midian, to see this great sight, will hear a supernatural voice, 'Take thy shoes from off thy feet, the place whereon thou standest, is holy ground.' Let some men attribute, if they dare, the results that have followed from the diffusion of the gospel in heathen lands, to anything other than the solemn, but animating fact, of the approbation and special sanction of the blessed God; to the devout mind, the proofs of that presence are as distinct, and yet more glorious than when it was indicated by the lightnings and thunders of Sinai, the pillar of cloud and of fire, or by the alighting messengers of heaven. And surely it must be an occasion of reverent and of tranquil delight, to all but the frivolous and the debased, that the symbols of the divine habitation, among his erring creatures who dwell at his feet, with whom there is so much to invoke his displeasure, are serenely, but indubitably, spreading themselves abroad. With these he identifies the hopes of the world. In them he finds firm ground on which to raise his most enlarged expectations. Through them he descries the beaming face of a 'mighty angel, descending from heaven on a cloud, having a rainbow about his head.'

Besides the direct and specific good which has resulted from Christian missions, questions of the mightiest interest to universal society have been set at rest by them, and problems have been worked out, the solution of which will extend their influence to the remotest times. In no part of the world have these more comprehensive effects been so apparent as in the island of Jamaica. There, as on a well selected theatre, a great drama has been played, a most imposing spectacle exhibited to the observation of a world, and conclusions fairly and openly traced out, which cannot fail to exert a definite and permanent influence on the councils of states, the theories of sages, and on the destinies of the church of God. Great antagonistic principles have been brought, by the voice of missions, into sublime collision. Deep and unyielding prejudices—which, like the strong roots of some pernicious tree, struck into the soil—had seized the minds of men, have been exposed and cut away. The haughty crest of the vain philosopher who talked learnedly and gravely about the natural degradation of his fellow-creature has been brought low. The hateful guile of the pseudo Christian, who, either from self interest or in a fawning spirit, sought to palliate rather than to destroy a system which he was ashamed boldly to support, has been laid bare. The malignity of oppression and the enormity of its guilt has been brought into the light of day. A den of infamy, over which the great evil spirit



must have gloated with dark and horrible delight, has been broken up. The gentle but mighty power of the gospel of Christ has been illustrated to the utter confusion of envy itself. Virtues have been elicited, and deeds done, which for beauty, nobility, and exemplary charm, are not to be eclipsed by the acts of men ostentatiously emblazoned on the records of fame. It is to this most interesting sphere of evangelical exertion that the fascinating book now before us refers.

Its author must be held to be a competent witness of the matters concerning which he writes. Having been in Jamaica upwards of twenty years, and resided during that long period in Spanish Town, the seat of Government, he must have had ample opportunity of acquainting himself at once with the country and its inhabitants. Superintending, as a minister, a large district, and having had thousands of persons under his pastoral care, his testimony respecting the religious character and habits of the people claims the utmost respect and confidence. Few men in the great department of missionary labour have been more devoted to their work, or honoured with greater success, or have more effectively conciliated the esteem and attachment of all classes amidst whom they have laboured. Mr. Phillippo has directed his attention from his earliest entrance on his work to the wants of the rising population, and has succeeded with great and untiring exertion in establishing large and efficient schools, as well for general as for religious instruction. He has been the means of building several commodious chapels, which have cost upwards of twenty thousand pounds, raised almost exclusively by himself and the poor but numerous people of his charge, and which have been legally secured to that society to which he belongs. He has for many years derived his support from the voluntary contributions of his flock, and so has annually relieved the funds of the committee at home. Since the date of negro emancipation, he has been the instrument of establishing free townships\*, in which the people of colour are living in the enjoyment of social and domestic life. Such a man must be regarded as a benefactor of his species, and cannot fail to command the esteem of all who can appreciate noble and disinterested deeds†.

\* The pages of the work before us contain an authentic and most animating history of the progress and triumph of the cause of negro freedom, as well as of the settling of the free towns in which many of these people now reside, which must be read with the deepest interest. These and other features in the book are illustrated by appropriate engravings.

† There is no class of men who have a stronger claim to the respect and admiration of society than devoted missionaries, and yet none who, frequently, are treated with so much distance and coldness. Those who have spent their health and their lives in the foreign service of the church, who have mastered

The work which bears his name under the title of 'Jamaica; its Past and Present State,' is divided into eighteen chapters, embracing a brief outline of 'the history of the island, its physical aspects, vegetable and animal productions, divisions, population, government, commerce, white inhabitants, people of colour and free blacks, their political, intellectual, social, and moral aspects, an animated and interesting survey of the rise, progress, and consummation of freedom, the triumphs of christianity in the Island, with the chief instrumental cause by which these great changes have been effected.' These several subjects, with a powerful enforcement of the claims of the people on the increased and zealous exertions of the Christian church, are treated in a manner that reflects the highest credit on the writer, and which cannot fail to inspire his readers with the spirit of his theme.

The style of Mr. Phillippo's book is simple and lucid, and entirely free from those glaring defects which deface too many of our modern productions. There is no affectation of finery, none of that pomposity and false splendour which can only serve to captivate coarse and vulgar minds. The book abounds in beautiful narrative and eloquent facts, clothed in chaste and appropriate language, suited to charm and beguile, rather than to clog and repel the reader. You lose sight of the writer in the subject, and have the scenes, through which he conducts you, and not the mere flourishing of the artist, vividly placed before the imagination. The information to be gleaned from more voluminous writers is ably compressed, and the best authorities, obviously, have been accurately and carefully consulted. We could have wished the excellent author had made somewhat sparer use of poetic quotations, and had consulted his own judgment rather than what appears to us to be the questionable taste of some of his advisers, to whom he alludes in his preface, in the somewhat too free introduction of the peculiar dialect of the negro population. These features might, for aught we know, gratify a certain class of his readers, but cannot commend his very useful production to the more educated sections of society, among whom such a work deserves to be widely circulated. The style of volumes intended to commend the great cause of Christianity, by recording its sacred triumphs either at home or abroad, should be moulded after the highest and the purest models.

difficult languages, laboured amidst the mightiest discouragements, observed the strictest economy, devoted thousands, when they have been able to create them, to the extension of the cause of their Master, have a claim to the warmest attachment of their professed friends, and on their return to us at any time, ought not to be treated as though they were strangers and interlopers, but should dwell among us as in the bosom of a home.

The book abounds with beautiful description, and furnishes abundant proof of the power of the author in the fascinating art of delineation. He is evidently endowed with a mind exquisitely susceptible to the beauties of nature, and to events suited to captivate the fancy and the heart. He seizes with much felicity on the prominent features of scenes and subjects that pass under his view, and invests them with colours which imprint them indelibly on minds of kindred sympathies and tastes. He thus describes his first approach to the shores of Jamaica:

‘Never will the writer forget the feelings of wonder and admiration with which he first beheld Jamaica, the most beautiful of the group. He was standing on the deck of the vessel as she entered the harbour of Port Morant, at its eastern extremity. It was at an early hour of the morning, the land wind had died away, and not a breath swept the glassy surface of the dark blue sea. Before him stood the Blue Mountains, rising by an almost abrupt acclivity from the water’s edge, their tops enveloped in clouds, and covered from their base to their highest elevation with huge forest-trees and shrubs of novel appearance and beauty, partially obscured by the dense fog that crept along their sides. On either hand, as far as the eye could distinguish, the margin of the sea was fringed with the mangrove tree, interspersed with occasional clumps of the cocoa-nut and mountain-palm; far along the enchanting panorama were dwellings that now caught and reflected the first rays of the sun; while ever and anon, the full tide played in white breakers or in silver crescents on the shore,’—pp. 34, 35.

And—

‘In the interior of the island the splendour and beauty of the prospect is, if possible, increased. At every successive step the traveller seems to breathe a purer air, and to survey a brighter scene. Here the barren, the fertile, the level and the inaccessible, are commingled. On the one side is seen a fine valley or glade, fertile and irrigated, stretching along the foot of craggy and desolate mountains covered with immense rocks, slightly intermixed with a dry, arid, and unfruitful soil; on the other, a narrow and precipitous defile, or deep and gloomy cavern, where the sun’s rays never penetrate; both enclosed by abrupt precipices, overhanging rocks, and impervious woods. In this direction the country is varied with ridges of low forest hills, rising gradually from the horizon, flat, level, and standing detached like islands. Yonder an extensive valley presents itself, as if enclosed by a lofty amphitheatre of wood, along which a river flows, meandering until lost between two parallel lines of mountains, as though from the bosom of a vast lake, it had forced its passage through them to the sea. In the more cultivated districts, as viewed from an eminence, the scene is lively and animating beyond description. The negroes, in gangs, are employed in the fields cutting canes or weeding pastures, numerous herds of oxen, with other domestic animals, graze on the shorn fields, or browse on the verdant slopes; an endless diversity of hill, valley, mountain, and defile, interspersed with clusters of the bamboo cane and towering cocoa palms, which gracefully



wave their feathery plumes in the breeze, copses of underwood, pastures shaded with lofty trees, plantain-walks, ruins and extensive fields of sugar-cane, of fresh and variegated foliage, chequer and adorn the entire landscape. At a greater distance, the extensive and beautiful valley, rich in the products of the soil, opens to the eye. The morning mists, which still partially hang over it, have the illusive appearance of a vast lake, resting on its bosom, or a beautiful bay, with its islands floating on the surface of the quiet waters. Behind are the majestic heights, losing themselves by degrees in the clouds, distributing light and shade in endless contrast, and presenting to the ravished eye a picture every moment glowing with new attractions. At a still greater distance appears the ocean with the shipping, its waters calm and unruffled, or tossed into fury by the winds. The high mountainous district, in general, presents to the beholder the sylvan beauties of coffee and pimento plantations, with groves of orange and other fruit trees, which at some seasons of the year breathe the perfumes of Arabia. Along the coast to the N.E., N.W., and S., as viewed from the sea, broken and irregular mountains rising from the midst of lesser elevations, their summits crowned with perpendicular rocks of every variety of shape and form which the wildest imagination can conceive, are contrasted with the beautiful and verdant clothing of the open glade, round topped hills, smiling villages, numerous cascades, mountain streams, and roaring cataracts. The unimaginable luxuriance of the herbage, the singular exotic appearance of all around, the green-house-like feel and temperature of the atmosphere, and the fresh flush of vegetable fragrance wafted from the shore, are all calculated to regale the senses, exhilarate the spirits, and diffuse through the soul a strange delirium of buoyant hope and joy. Jamaica, in a word, may be reckoned among the most romantic and highly-diversified countries in the world, uniting the rich magnificent scenery which waving forests, never-failing streams, and constant verdure can present, heightened by the pure atmosphere, and the glowing tints of a tropical sun.'—pp. 35—38.

In alluding to one of those fearful visitations, so frequent in tropical climates, of which he was an eye-witness, our Author says:—

'It began its desolating course in the middle of the night, and, with the exception of a few short intervals, during which it seemed to be gathering fresh energy in order to renew its assaults with greater violence, continued until nearly the middle of the following day.

'It was preceded by an awful stillness, occasionally broken by an indistinct sound resembling the roaring of a cataract, or the blowing of winds through a forest, by an intermission of the diurnal breeze,—by an almost insupportable heat, the thermometer standing at between 95° and 100° of Fah.,—by vast accumulations of vapour moving in the direction of the mountains,—by flocks of sea-gulls,—by a deep portentous gloom gradually increasing and overspreading the hemisphere,—by all the omens, indeed, which are said to be their precursors. From three o'clock until nearly the break of day, the lightning was terrific beyond description; illuminating the whole concave of heaven, and darting apparently

in ten thousand fantastic forms, whilst the reverberations of the thunder, echoed back by the distant mountains, seemed to shake the pillars of the earth, as if commissioned to seal the doom of the world. The rain descended in torrents, and an awful, deep, and compact gloom overshadowed the face of nature. The morning of the deluge could scarcely have presented an aspect more dismal. It was a period of fearful suspense and terror. The wind began to blow from the north, but on attaining the acme of its violence, it blew from all parts of the compass, and carried ruin on its wings. In every direction were dismantled houses, shattered fences, uprooted trees, and the ground strewn with shingles, splinters, branches of trees, fruit, and leaves. The writer's garden was a wilderness, and his dwelling-house shook to its foundation. Every habitation around was closed, every crevice filled up, and every tenant in total darkness. All business was of course suspended, and not an individual to be seen but at intervals, when one cautiously appeared to acquaint himself with his situation, and to view the desolation around. Nothing was to be seen or heard but the pelting of the storm and the continued sighs of elemental tumult.

‘Venti vis . . . . .

*Interdum rapido percurrens turbini compos  
Arboribus magno sternit montesque supremo,  
Silvefragis vetat flabris.*—*Lucretius, lib. i., 1272.*—pp. 81, 82.

We shall indulge in another quotation, which reflects as much honour on the memory of the excellent Governor whose removal it relates, as on the heart and the pen which thus describe the occurrence :—

‘Although Sir Lionel was to leave the vice-regal residence at the hour of day-break in the morning, some hundreds of persons had collected full two hours previously ; and at half-past five o'clock, when he stepped into his carriage, there could not have been less than 2,000 present. They were collected principally at the entrance of the road along which his Excellency had to pass from the square.

‘At the head of this immense mass was a large banner, stretched across the street, bearing the inscription, ‘Sir Lionel Smith, the Poor Man's Friend and Protector,’ whilst others, on which was inscribed, ‘We Mourn the Departure of our Governor,’ and similar devices, were variously distributed throughout the line.

‘The feelings of regret and veneration universally expressed on the approach of his Excellency were overpowering, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he and his attendants resisted the general determination to convey him back again, all being apparently resolved that he should not leave them. For a considerable distance the whole mass hung upon the carriage, or ran beside it, until ready to faint with fatigue, uttering lamentations and invoking blessings on his head. Mothers in almost every instance exhibited their infants as trophies—trophies of the blessings and advantages of freedom. Exclusively of the multitude thus congregated in the town, the road leading to the place of embarkation, which extended a distance of six miles, was thronged with people.

‘ Interesting and affecting, however, as was the scene already beheld, that exhibited on the arrival of the procession at Port Henderson was doubly so. Added to the number of people of all ranks and colours pouring into the village along the roads, as far as the eye could reach, an immense number, nearly all of whom were in deep mourning, or wore black riband in some conspicuous part of their dress, had drawn themselves up in two parallel lines at the entrance, and as Sir Lionel and his *cortège* had proceeded to the middle of the lines, the whole mass surrounded them, and declaring that their ‘ Governor and friend’ should not leave them, began to effect their purpose, by taking the horses from the carriage to draw him back again to the seat of government. This determination being at length overruled, they then insisted on drawing him to the beach, as the last act of kindness they could show him. To avoid this, probably from the excitement it might occasion, the veteran alighted from his carriage, intending to walk the remainder of the way.

‘ He was in a moment surrounded by the multitude, whose lamentations and other expressions of sorrow at his departure so completely overcame him and several of his attendants, that they seemed scarcely able to proceed. As an evidence, indeed, if any were wanting, that the hero of a hundred battles had still a heart alive to sympathy, his deep emotion at length vented itself by a torrent of tears. The effect of this was, as may be supposed, irresistible — (a veteran warrior in tears!) — and the whole mass seemed to catch the contagion. At the same time the assembled multitude, now greatly augmented, had formed themselves around him as an impenetrable barrier, as though determined he should not advance. After some expostulation and entreaty, the mass gave way, and all moved on together to the beach, with all the solemnity and sorrow of a funeral procession, in which some great benefactor was the object of regret. Arriving at the water’s edge, the scene became affecting beyond all description. The sobs of the multitude, hitherto half-stifled, now burst forth like a torrent; and from the noble-minded object of all this affection downwards, throughout the whole mass, which included several officers and civilians of the highest distinction in the colony, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen. As the boat receded from the shore, Sir Lionel rallied sufficiently to bow to the assembled crowd, and cries and lamentations, intermingled with invocations, followed him until he was out of hearing.

‘ Seldom has the eye witnessed a more affecting scene, and certainly never did a more popular Governor quit the shores of Jamaica.’ — pp. 254—256.

It is impossible too highly to commend the truly catholic spirit which pervades every part of the work now under review. Mr. Phillippo takes not the slightest notice of the noisy attacks that have been made on that mission to which he is attached in Jamaica, but treats the matter with the silent contempt that it deserves. This is all the more praiseworthy, inasmuch as he has been the subject of personal reflection and reproach. Many, we have reason to believe, when his work was announced, expected it was designed as a defence of one section of Christians



against the accusations of another ! In this they will be disappointed. The writer has had a higher object in view. There is nothing polemical or denominational in his volume ; it is neither adapted nor designed to serve the interests of a party, but it belongs to the whole Christian world. It is full of generous sentiments, and breathes a spirit of universal charity. It is refreshing to see such genuine catholicity of temper, as though in dignified rebuke of the petty, exclusive, disreputable feelings, which, under one pretext or another, are so blighting prevalent in these times.

A great collateral advantage of missions is, the occasional contributions they make and the gradual tinge they impart to the literature of the country. Much valuable information has been collected concerning climes and tribes of men about whom nothing was known before ; every department of knowledge has been more or less enriched ; customs, laws, principles have been put to the test, and their value or their worthlessness, in connexion with social happiness, decided ; and above all, the meliorative influence of the Christian religion has been abundantly and triumphantly settled. The republic of letters is laid under the deepest obligations to the cause of missions. The amount of this obligation, due to honored names, recorded in the missionary roll, is considerably increased by Mr. Phillippo's admirable book. But it would be impossible to calculate the wholesome influence which such a production must have on Christianity itself. It is one more solemn attestation to its divine and elevating power. It adduces and presents before all men the most splendid proof of the moral glory of the doctrines of the cross, as traced in their mighty results, that the annals of the church can supply. It presents a fund of evidence in favour of evangelical truth that must paralyze the arm of unbelief. It will be referred to as an authentic text book in future times, touching all the great interests of the entire population of Jamaica, but especially their moral and religious history. It will inspire men with gratitude, with courage, with hope amidst the labours of coming ages, and hold an appropriate place amidst the treasures of the church. Let its devoted author console himself with the thought, that though withheld by weakness from those active services, it would have been his pleasure to render to the cause he loves during a transient residence in England, he has done incomparably greater good by his pen, than he could have hoped to effect by his voice.

One of the most effectual hindrances to the progress of missions lies in a low estimate of man. Some under the flimsy guise of a false philosophy, others from a slavish subserviency to conventional distinctions, and too many from the mere pride of

their nature, despise the less favoured of their fellow-creatures, and habitually think of them as an inferior race, appointed rather to minister to the gratification of their superiors than to be the recipients in common with others of the best blessings of heaven. This feeling prevents the growth of the very soil from which the missionary temper springs. It is destructive of the nobler and more generous sentiments, freezes the sympathies at their very fountain, and dissolves those natural ties which are designed to unite the human race in social and indissoluble bonds. Like every other master mischief which disturbs and defaces society, it exists in various degrees, and assumes a multiplicity of forms. It may be seen rising to its most disgusting height in the guilty oppressor who holds his neighbour in degrading personal bondage, while it descends in loathsome gradations till it is observed exuding in the conceited airs of some ignorant or purse-proud mortal, who looks with supercilious contempt from his petty eminence on the labourer who toils for his bread. This exclusive and offensive spirit is in direct hostility to the laws of God and to the gospel of Christ, and disappears wherever these are understood and revered. Love for man as man, irrespective of all that is local or accidental; a sincere and beneficent interest in his welfare; a readiness to make any sacrifice for his good, and an earnest desire for his salvation, are the beautiful fruits of the Christian religion, while its progress among the nations is made to depend instrumentally on these high virtues and benevolent impulses which it is its province to induce. Happily more enlarged views and more charitable sentiments are gradually supplanting in society the mean and contracted feelings which have so long disgraced it, and the more widely they are spread, the greater the extent of surface over which to sow with rational hopes of success the seeds which germinate in missionary intentions and designs. The day is approaching, it is hoped, in which the tone of morality will be raised so high, that any people who shall refuse to recognise the great doctrine of the natural equality and social dignity of all classes of men will be regarded as a disgrace to the civilized world.

A most effectual blow would be struck at this loathsome policy by the institution of a college for the use of the coloured population in the West, a project urged by Mr. Phillippo, and which we should rejoice to see carried into execution. This bold and generous conception only needs time and energy to mature it. If some able and persevering man, a staunch friend of the oppressed, would put the scheme in motion, there are hundreds in England, we would hope, who would readily sympathise with him, and we should soon see the neglected and

persecuted African outstripping his haughty persecutors in the race of mind. We earnestly wish our author may live to witness his wise and benevolent design fulfilled, the very suggestion of which is most honourable to him; but whether or not, his name will long be cherished as one of the most zealous, enlightened, and disinterested friends of the children of Ham.

But where no such impediments exist, a familiarity with the greatness of the design of missions may damp the ardour with which they should be pursued. There is nothing more difficult in Christian discipline than to keep the heart suitably alive to the loftiest claims—so to regulate the affections as that they shall be susceptible to the influences of truth and respond to its numerous appeals with a moral correctness somewhat in keeping with the relative importance of the subjects it proposes, or the duties to which it invites. A sensitiveness to the force of reasoning, and a tendency to yield to persuasive eloquence, or to vivid or touching delineation, are not to be underrated. But though these may nerve the resolutions and kindle the passions, their effect however pleasing will be but temporary, and will subside with the cause which produces them. It may be worthy of a moment's consideration how far the means of sustaining the public interest in the philanthropic institutions of the Christian Church, which at present are so generally adopted, are capable of improvement—whether they do not make the great cause they are intended to promote somewhat too dependent on external and superficial stimulants, rather than on more solid and substantial material. However this may be, it is certain that the healthy expression of the heart towards the sacred objects which ask its sympathy and deserve its best affections, is to be fed only by habits of deep reflection and of quiet thought. That it must not be primarily dependent on any outward agencies, but derive the interest which pervades it from a profounder and more sacred source—from a well of feeling, deep and tranquil, seated in its own consciousness; which efforts from without can neither occasion nor exhaust. Where this richer and more latent sympathy with the mighty enterprise is but partially cherished, the frequent recurrence of missionary topics will weaken their power over the conscience and the heart, so as to render such minds unduly and even entirely dependent on the provocatives which accidental circumstances may supply. Their dependence on representations from the platform, or on the more solemn injunctions of the pulpit, will degenerate into a sort of servility, equally disreputable to themselves and injurious to the cause they espouse. In the habit of looking at the subject itself only through the medium of public arrangements and seasons, the influence it will exert over them



will come to be determined by the detail of these arrangements themselves. Unless there be some novel feature, some unusually exciting element, something to quicken the inferior faculties and tastes, the mission meeting, and in a great degree the mission itself, will be divested of its interest. The temporary machinery will absorb the attention which exclusively belongs to the vast design it is constructed to advance; as though the mere scaffolding of some magnificent edifice should evoke those eulogies which admiring intelligence would reserve for the building itself.

It is the great excellence of Christian missions that they grow out of true evangelical religion, and that they are the produce of that religion in its best state and at its maturer age. Neither speculative professors of the Christian faith, nor men but slightly imbued with the grace of the gospel, could have originated so divine a scheme. And as they have sprung from so opulent a source, so are they dependent on it, and must be nourished by it. Just in that proportion in which inviolable principles, comprehensive views, deep experimental godliness, and unfeigned vital devotion distinguish the Church of Christ, is their groundwork firmly and broadly laid, and their gradual and extended triumphs secured. Enlightened evangelical feeling in the churches at home must constitute the voice which must continue to go forth with cheerful accent and invincible strength, crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' The destiny of missionary enterprise is committed by the Head of the Church to men who admire it for its own and for its great Master's sake, and whose attachment to it is independent of petty interests, and is such as time may strengthen but can never destroy.

'*Jamaica, its Past and Present State,*' is eminently suited to sustain the devotion of the Church in the missionary service, and to stimulate to yet more enlarged endeavours. It abounds in pungent appeals, affectionate exhortations, and heart-stirring inducements, and cannot be read without the best results. No book that has fallen under our notice has afforded us greater pleasure, and we earnestly recommend our readers to the perusal of its enchanting pages.

ART. IV. *Suppression of the Opium Trade. The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Ashley, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, April 4, 1843. Published by permission, and corrected by his Lordship.* London: Houlston and Stoneman.

2. *Corrected Report of the Speech of Sir George Staunton, on Lord Ashley's Motion, on the Opium Trade, in the House of Commons, April 4, 1843. With Introductory Remarks, and an Appendix.* London: Lloyd and Co.

3. *A View of the Opium Trade, Historical, Moral, and Commercial.* By Leitch Ritchie, Esq., Editor of 'The Indian News.' London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

FOUR years have elapsed since we first brought before our readers the subject to which these pamphlets refer, and expressed a conviction that if there were any virtue or sense of shame left in our people or rulers, the opium trade in China would be speedily suppressed. The progress made towards this consummation, though not equal to our wishes, has been perhaps as rapid as it was reasonable to expect, considering the ignorance of the subject that pervaded the community, the slowness with which unpalatable truths gain admission to the mind, and the powerful interests engaged in the traffic. Events also occurred, at that juncture, tending to indispose the public for calm and deliberate attention to the subject. A crisis had arrived in China. Twenty thousand chests of opium were seized by the Chinese commissioner, and destroyed. Our national dignity was thought to be insulted. An instinctive desire to avenge the honour of the British name was aroused. It was supposed that no amicable relations could be established till the haughty and exclusive spirit of the Chinese Government was chastised. Men, from whom we should not have expected the sentiment, contended that it was only by a demonstration of our power that the Chinese would be taught reason, and that cannon balls must be used to open the way for commerce and Christianity. A fleet was promptly equipped, and despatched; and now, it was said, we are actually at war: we must conquer first, and make pacific arrangements afterwards. In the House of Commons, an attempt was immediately made by Sir James Graham to turn the whole to party purposes. The philanthropic and upright portion of the community was disgusted; and then ensued a general indisposition to meddle with a question whose practical advantages seemed to be remote, but which, under the circumstances of the nation, was likely to be perverted to the production of present evil.

Some enlightened and persevering men, however, took care that the subject should not be forgotten, and, in a quiet but

effectual manner, brought it before the attention of successive Ministries. The pernicious tendencies of the opium traffic, in respect to British trade and manufactures, were developed. A memorial was presented to Sir Robert Peel, about this time last year, bearing the signatures of the most influential firms in Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Leeds, and other manufacturing towns, declaring their opinion, that commerce with China could not be conducted on a permanently safe and satisfactory basis, so long as the contraband trade in opium was permitted. This document, which was closely argued, and sustained throughout by references to parliamentary papers and other authorities, being afterwards printed, made a powerful impression on several influential persons; among others, on Lord Ashley, who took up the business with characteristic ardour. After he had given notice that he should bring it before the House of Commons on the 4th of April, he was furnished, by the Committees of the London, the Wesleyan, and the Baptist Missionary Societies, with appropriate petitions, which he presented on that evening, making them the introduction to his speech, and then moving the following resolution:—‘That it is the opinion of this House, that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country, by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken, as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil.’

Lord Ashley had prepared himself diligently for the occasion, and his address produced a corresponding effect. It is well known that his lordship possesses the ear of the House in a greater degree than most of its members; and on this evening its aspect was remarkable. A large number of the gentlemen whose business it is to vote, not to hear or deliberate, withdrew as soon as he began; leaving behind them a small audience, composed of the thinking men, including the leaders of different parties. Few even of these were possessed of much knowledge of the subject, and they listened intently, wondering apparently what was the object of the noble lord, what Sir Robert would do, and what they must do themselves. The silence was as perfect as that of a well-behaved congregation when hearing a sermon. An hour elapsed, we believe, before the noble lord elicited a cheer; but, as he proceeded, the sympathies of a part of his audience were awakened, and, when he sat down, the expression of general approbation was decisive. The speech was throughout an appeal to the judgment of his hearers: he had



furnished himself with numerous documents, which he quoted freely, and he argued the case with simplicity and calmness, making no attempt to display eloquence or move the passions. The gravity of the speaker corresponded well with the importance of the theme, and with its bearings on morality and religion, which were prominently brought out and enforced with evident sincerity. As a well-digested epitome of information on the subject, we earnestly recommend the perusal of this speech.

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Bingham Baring rose, and delivered the most confused and feeble oration to which we ever had the misfortune to listen. If any one were anxious to see how possible it is for an official personage to go on speaking for a respectable length of time without communicating definite ideas of any sort, he might do so by collating the London papers of the following morning, and observing how absolutely void of similarity the reports are which occupy the space allotted to the harangue of Mr. Bingham Baring. His duty, as Secretary of the Board of Control, required him on this occasion to endeavour to get rid of a troublesome business, by moving the previous question, and this brought up Sir George Staunton.

Though not an attractive speaker, Sir George Staunton was heard with the respect which his reputation, as the highest authority in this country on all subjects connected with China, would naturally inspire. He told the House that it had been his fortune to have travelled twice through the interior of that great empire, having, from his official position, opportunities of communicating freely with the natives of all ranks; that he could not conceive of any people with whom an extensive commercial connexion would be more likely to prove advantageous to this country; that these advantages were lost for the sake of propping up a monopoly in the growth and export of opium, disgraceful in itself, discreditable to us as a nation, and which it was impossible long to retain; that if the opium traffic had not received an extraordinary impulse from the measures taken by the East India Company to promote its growth, which almost suddenly quadrupled the supply, it never would have excited that alarm in the Chinese authorities which betrayed them into the adoption of a sort of *coup d'état* for its suppression; that it was well known that the Chinese authorities had stopped the traffic for four months previous to the seizure of the opium, so effectually that for the whole of that time not a single chest was sold; that he believed that this traffic never had been, and never would be, legalized in China; and that even if it were galized he should not be shaken in his confidence, either in

the policy or wisdom of the noble lord's motion. He concluded by saying, 'I trust my noble friend will not be discouraged by any want of success his motion may be destined to meet this night; and that he will remember that his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Wilberforce, when he first advocated the abolition of the Slave Trade, met, in the outset, a still more determined opposition, and yet persevered, and lived to see, as he hoped his noble friend would do, the complete triumph of his principles.'

Captain Layard, Lord Sandon, and Sir R. H. Inglis, spoke subsequently in favour of the motion, and Lord Jocelyn, Mr. Hogg, Sir E. Colebrook, and Mr. Lindsay against it. The debate was brought to a close by the Premier, the substance of whose speech was nearly three thousand years before concentrated into one short sentence, when Ahaziah replied to the prophet, 'But what shall we do for the hundred talents?' The Right Hon. Baronet expatiated on the delicacy of the subject as affecting a revenue of more than 1,200,000*l.* a-year, and the difficulty of raising the amount in India from any other source. He talked of negotiations for legalizing the trade, now pending, with which the passing of this resolution might interfere. He stated that instructions had been sent out, that those who follow the present discreditable traffic must receive no support, but must be told that they will have to take the consequences of their own conduct; and that, in any case, it must not be permitted that the port of Hong Kong should be made a place of deposit by the opium traders. He animadverted on the terms of the resolution, in which certainly were some expressions open to criticism, and concluded by saying, 'I do not ask you to reject the motion of my noble friend; but, in the present state of our relations with China, to postpone the subject, and leave for the present the matter in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.'

When Lord Ashley gave notice of his motion, he was not so thoroughly master of the subject as when he brought it forward and in consequence his resolution contained a phrase not strictly appropriate. It spoke of the *monopoly* as destructive, whereas it is the working of the monopoly, not the monopoly itself that does the mischief. It is not the prohibition of private enterprise in reference to opium that is baneful, but the cultivation which the company carries on, the produce of which it monopolizes. This inaccuracy gave his lordship's opponents an advantage, which they did not fail to observe. What! said they, would you withdraw the prohibition, and suffer everybody to produce the drug and sell it? An odd way, truly, of suppressing a production, and putting an end to a traffic! Of this oversight the premier condescended to avail himself; and he

brought forward with great solemnity the opinions of Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Mills, and Mr. Fleming, to convince the House that if the monopoly were abolished, and free trade in opium established in its place, the production would probably be augmented. But if those who hold the monopoly, that is the East India Company, were to cease to cultivate the poppy, and the restrictions on others were continued, which the noble mover's speech showed was what he meant, then it would require ingenuity yet greater than that of the premier to lead to the belief that augmentation would ensue. He rendered it impossible, however, according to parliamentary etiquette, that the sense of the House should be taken on the question; and Lord Ashley, in his brief reply stated, that when he heard from the first minister of the crown that, by a motion of his, negotiations now pending relating to India and China would be prejudiced, he would be the last man to press such motion to a division. Sir George Staunton, who belongs to the other side of the House, has expressed his acquiescence in this course, and his opinion of the general effect of the debate, in the Introductory Remarks prefixed to his published speech: he says—

‘The result of the debate must be highly gratifying to all the friends of the cause. Lord Ashley has had the opportunity, in his very able and eloquent speech, to bring the subject fully and fairly before the house and the country; and there can be no doubt of his statements on the subject, sustained as they are by such various and high authorities, producing a deep and lasting impression.

‘The motion was very properly withdrawn, upon the statement of Sir Robert Peel, that negotiations were actually pending with the Chinese authorities on the subject of the legalization of the opium trade, and that it would be obviously inconvenient to pledge the House to any specific course till the result was known. It would have been impossible for Lord Ashley, after such a declaration, to have obtained a vote upon the real merits of the case; but the moment intelligence arrives from China of the conclusion of the commercial treaty, in which Sir Henry Pottenger is at present engaged, and of the unshaken adherence, as is most probable, of the Chinese government, to its former principles respecting the absolute prohibition of an importation of opium, it is open, and I should say, almost incumbent on his lordship to renew his motion, subject, of course, to any verbal or other modifications which a further consideration of the subject may suggest.’

The session of 1843 having terminated before the arrival of the anticipated information, parliamentary action is for the present suspended; but the interests of mankind require that unremitting attention should be given to this matter, by the thinking part of the community. The maintenance of peace, the progress of civilization, the advancement of commerce, the



relief of our suffering manufacturers, and, above all, the promulgation of that gospel, with the reception of which the everlasting welfare of oriental myriads is connected,—all require that Britain should now determine to deal honourably and virtuously in reference to this opium trade. Every mail from the East, while the matter is unsettled, must be opened with anxiety; it is liable to contain the most disastrous intelligence. Yet, with a prevalent belief that the trade, as at present conducted, is indefensible and dangerous, there is in the minds of many honourable men much hesitation as to the propriety of adopting the decided measures requisite for its suppression. One has a difficulty, another has an objection; one cannot see how it can be accomplished, another fears that if it be put down some unoffending parties would be injured. That a *prima facie* case has been made out is generally admitted; but it is asked, Is there not much to be said on the other side? Meanwhile, the adherents of the existing system who derive from it emolument, appear to think that silence is their truest policy. There is no disposition on their part to come to the light themselves, or to communicate light to others. In vain do we look for any official defence of the trade. Not one of the members of parliament who resisted Lord Ashley's proposition has published his speech. Though the prime minister deems the revenue it yields of sufficient importance to counterbalance the moral and religious arguments against it; though the East India Company is said to have cleared from it this year, already, more than a million sterling; though it has been assailed so openly, and by such influential persons, our inquiries have not enabled us to discover that it has been defended from the press by more than one solitary pamphlet. The only publication we have met with on that side of the question is that of Mr. Leitch Ritchie, whose title appears at the head of this article. This gentleman being the editor of a periodical established as the organ of the Indian body in England, the copyright of which the original proprietors transferred to him in token of approbation and confidence, and now carried on, as he tells us, without any deviation from the original plan, we shall examine his arguments. If, in doing so, we seem to be giving a disproportionate number of pages to a small work, let it be remembered that it is the only work that has appeared of late in defence of this traffic, and that the connexions and engagements of the writer indicate that he is competent to do justice to the cause he has espoused.

It is pleasing to find in these pages the admission of many facts, which on other occasions we have deemed it requisite to establish. This facilitates our present duty, and enables us to confine our attention to the points really at issue. Mr. Ritchie

acknowledges, that 'The history of the opium trade shews that the importation of the Indian article into China has increased in the course of about forty years from one thousand to forty thousand chests;' that in 1796, as soon as the Emperor Kiating mounted the throne, 'opium smoking was declared to be an offence punishable by the pillory and the bamboo. In the fourth year of his reign, (1799) the sale was interdicted; and the punishment annexed to a contravention of the law increased gradually to transportation and death by strangling. In the following year its importation was utterly forbidden, and heavy penalties denounced against offenders;' that, 'in 1809 the Hong merchants were required by edict, when petitioning for a ship to discharge her cargo at Whampoa, to give bond that she had no opium on board; and, in case of disobedience, these security merchants were to be brought to trial for the misdemeanour, and the offending ship expelled from the port;' that, 'in 1820, the same edict was promulgated in a still more stringent form, 'lest remissness might have crept in by length of time;' that, 'the daily papers are filled with accounts, taken from various authors, of the murders and other deeds of violence to which opium gives rise;' that 'the opium drunkard destroys himself;' that, 'should the conclusion be come to, that it was the duty of foreign merchants to have obeyed orders habitually disregarded by the native officers to whom their execution was entrusted, and with whom alone they were permitted to have any communication, then were the British parliament, who sanctioned the opium monopoly of the East India Company, well knowing the destination of the drug, and the East India Company, who realized a splendid revenue by this illegal traffic, the greatest criminals;' that, 'the influence exercised by the monopoly consisted, of course, in the greater encouragement held out to the cultivation;' that 'the advances made by the government (without which nothing can be done in India) are on a liberal scale;' that 'the profit realized by the Company is supposed to amount to about a million sterling per annum, or something more than 300 per cent on the cost of the article; but if we include the duty on the produce of Malwa, it may be stated collectively, in round numbers, at a million and a quarter;' that 'the principal gainers by opium have been the East India Company, for although in one respect the most certain trade in China, the money being paid before the delivery of the goods, it has always been subject to great fluctuations;' that 'more fortunes, it is stated, have been lost than made, which is proved by the fact that the personel of the trade has been continually changing, consisting at one time of baboos, at another of Portuguese, and again of English houses.' These numerous and

important admissions, greatly narrow the discussion: on these points, Mr. Ritchie it seems has no dispute with us, and certainly we have none with him.

But let us now ascertain the character of those positions on which Mr. Ritchie relies, as forming together a justification of the trade, or rendering its continuance expedient. The chief, or at least one of the chief, appears to be this:—

I. That though the emperor, the nominal governor, opposes the opium trade, it is patronized by the provincial functionaries, who are the real governors, and by the nation.

The long exordium respecting the theory of the Chinese government is evidently intended to prepare the reader for this. We are told expressly, that the peculiarity of the government of China 'leaves us in absolute doubt as to which is *the* government, the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates.' Opium is introduced to the reader as 'an article of commerce which for many years has been more specially denounced by the emperor, and patronized by the provincial functionaries and the nation.' Towards the close we are asked, 'What, then, was the law of China?—the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates?'

Now, we do not deny that the Chinese government is weak, or that its provincial functionaries are corrupt; but we maintain that the inability of the government to enforce its enactments does not make disobedience to them legal, and that the corruptibility of the bribed does not render bribery innocent. It is by bribery principally, as Mr. Ritchie admits, that the officers have been induced to connive at the importation of the drug; nay, since the first appearance of the English they have never relaxed, he tells us, 'either in traffic or in bribery.' So, first we corrupt the man's servants, and then we plead their defection from duty as a justification of our conduct towards him! There are on our own coast preventive-service men of very easy virtue. Instances might be adduced of officers looking diligently the other way while the contraband spirits were landed. In Sussex, a considerable part of the population has been found ready to purchase, to drink, and to eulogize the foreign brandy; and the technical phrase by which they have described persons engaged in the traffic has been, *fair traders*. It has often been alleged among them too, with what truth is not important for our present purpose, that persons very high in rank and office have participated in the practice. But what would be thought of the Frenchman's logic, who should argue that it was difficult to determine which was the law of England—the theory of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the practice of his delegates? Who would be satisfied by the plea that the



traffic was 'patronized by the provincial functionaries and the nation?'

The emperor, however, has shown that he possesses a power which demands that foreigners should acknowledge him as the possessor of supreme authority. He has shown that he had power enough to inflict capital punishment, as well as to threaten it, for the violation of his edicts respecting the trade in opium. Not only in February, 1839, was a native executed for this, in the factory square at Canton, but, as Mr. Ritchie expresses it, 'on various former occasions an obscure victim had in like manner suffered in vindication of the dignity of the government.' He has shown that he had power to send commissioners to supersede the provincial functionaries, and exercise the most arbitrary authority in their districts; and power to raise armies, and carry on a protracted though unsuccessful warfare. But now, a treaty having been made with him, and signed by our own sovereign, are her subjects at liberty to plead that he is not the real governor? Will she admit the plea, on his part, that his decrees are 'printed, read, laughed at, and forgotten?' What equity will there be in holding him to his engagements as emperor, and at the same time pleading, as a justification for the violation of his edicts, that we are 'in absolute doubt as to which is *the* government, the theory of the emperor, or the practice of his delegates?'

II. The second principle on which Mr. Ritchie rests his defence of the opium trade is, that the prohibition of the sale is *not* owing to the unwholsomeness of the article. 'On this point,' he says, 'we are at issue.'

Well: suppose it is not for that reason, but for some other, which he deems weighty, that the emperor proscribes the drug; suppose it is for financial reasons, as Mr. Ritchie contends; has not the supreme government of China a right to act on its own system of finance? Suppose the emperor's system of political economy is erroneous, has he not a right to try it? Are we so certain that we know what is best for his people, and for him, that we are bound to counteract his financial policy? Is it not just and wise that the government of this country should say to its subjects who cultivate opium or traffic in it—Whether the article is good or bad, and whether the emperor's views respecting it are accurate or not, by carrying it to China you interfere with prohibitions which he has a right to issue; you endanger the good understanding which it is desirable to establish between the two nations; you impede the extension of British commerce, and therefore it is our duty to restrain you.

But where is the evidence in favour of Mr. Ritchie's opinion, that the prohibition is *not* owing to the unwholsomeness of the

article? He finds it in the extent to which it is cultivated in China itself. He believes that several thousand chests are produced annually in Yunnan, and calculates that five times several thousand chests may be produced in five other specified provinces, and then justly observes that these are only six provinces out of eighteen. Two or three pages on this subject are of so extraordinary a character, that one might almost imagine that the writer, when he penned them, had been making an experiment with the opium-pipe, the effect of which is, as he says, 'to abstract us from the world, and wrap our spirits in dreams and illusions.'

If this extensive cultivation of Opium in China be anything more than a vision, it is very extraordinary that Indian opium should be imported into China at all. 'Something more than 300 per cent.' being realized by the East India Company, how strange it is that after being conveyed to China, and brought in by the connivance of bribed mandarins, 40,000 chests should be able, in one year, to compete in the Chinese market with the native-grown opium which pays no duty, either to the East India Company or the emperor! If 'nearly the entire country is fit for the growth of the plant,' and it is 'at this moment cultivated and prepared within the empire to an extent much greater than its consumption had attained some time after it was first denounced as destructive of the public health of body and mind,' it is unaccountable that the demand for foreign opium, instead of ceasing, should have so increased, that at length the Chinese should have parted with more than three millions and a half sterling in one year in exchange for it. And if, in the estimation of the emperor, 'the grand evil of opium smoking lay in its puffing away the solid silver of the country,' how strange that he should have overlooked the direct remedy for this, which the encouragement of the home cultivation afforded! The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Canton had formally suggested this in their Report of 1836—'To shut out the importation of it by foreigners,' say they, 'there is no better plan than to sanction the cultivation and preparation of it in the empire. It would seem right, therefore, to relax, in some measure, the existing severe prohibitions, and to dispense with the close scrutiny now called for to hinder its cultivation.'\* Had Mr. Ritchie's object been to show that the emperor's objection to the consumption of opium was *not* derived from the loss of sycee silver it occasioned, but from the moral and physical evils arising from the practice, we could have understood the pertinence of his citation of edicts forbidding its cultivation

\* Correspondence relating to China—p. 167.



in his own dominions : we could have felt the force of the appeal, —See he cares not for the exportation of the silver; he prohibits the drug equally whether grown abroad or at home, 'the petty traffickers' who go from place to place to sell the native opium are denounced as 'openly and knowingly violating the laws.' But that edicts and memorials against the home cultivation should be cited to show that the true cause of the prohibition of the foreign trade is not dislike of the article, but of the exportation of the silver given in exchange for it, is astounding.

Should Mr. Ritchie say that his argument is not that the cultivation is forbidden by the emperor, but that it is not prevented; that it is still carried on from year to year, and that it is therefore evident that the opposition of the supreme authorities is not sincere, we reply, that he gives us no proof of this. He assumes, indeed, that 'the noxious article is *at this moment* cultivated and prepared within the empire,' but we know of nothing to justify the assumption. *Since the year 1836* neither public document nor private letter which has come to our knowledge has mentioned it at all; and *in 1836* the documents referring to it represent it as illegal. Surely the memorials of the censors and other officers requesting that prohibitions should be enforced, presented seven years ago, are not to be taken as evidence that it is cultivated and prepared 'at this moment!' It is indeed remarkable that our knowledge of the internal cultivation is derived exclusively from our knowledge of the orders given for its suppression. Even Mr. Jardine, before the Committee of the House of Commons, professed no other knowledge of the fact than that which was derived from edicts against it, which the local authorities were obliged to issue, because they came from the emperor. Being asked whether he knew that opium was extensively grown in China, before reading the discussions at Peking, he replied, 'Yes, in consequence of having seen it in the 'Pekin Gazette,' when it used to be translated for the Company, that *authorities had been sent out to destroy the poppy in the provinces in which it is grown.*'\*

The assumption, then, that the prohibition of the sale is *not* on account of the deleterious nature of the article is altogether unsupported; and is far less reasonable than the giving credit for veracity to the emperor and his councillors. Mr. Thelwall, in his 'Iniquities of the Opium Trade,' has adduced proofs so numerous and so strong, of the physical and moral wretchedness of those who have addicted themselves to opium smoking, that it can scarcely be necessary to add more to show, that any ruler possessing an average degree of humanity and intelligence, must

\* Report.—Trade with China. 1840.—p. 96.



desire to discountenance the practice. Were any further testimony desirable, it might be found in the impressive statement of the late Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States, Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, who, in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, says—‘This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these it heightens his vices, giving his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecillity. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time, but the reaction is not less certain: and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug, which alike debases mind and body.’\* Mr. Ritchie himself acknowledges that the effect of opium is to madden the mind; that ‘the opium drunkard destroys himself;’ and that it is ‘an article that ought not to be easily come at, or largely consumed.’ Why should the Emperor of China be discredited when he professes similar opinions? Mr. Ritchie would think himself aggrieved if we were to allege that *he* does not believe opium to possess pernicious qualities, after he has written thus respecting it, though we might show that he vindicates the production of the drug. How unreasonable is it then to deny that the Emperor of China believes this when he denounces it, punishes those who use it, refuses to derive a revenue from it, and has, in some instances, taken active measures for its wholesale destruction! When, in opposition to the counsels of Heu-Naetse, he adopted the course recommended by Choo Tsun, how unreasonable is it to disbelieve that he admitted the principles on which that advice was enforced! In the memorial on which the emperor’s determination was founded, Choo Tsun speaks thus:—‘To sum up the matter, the wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration; for in the people lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.’† He argues, that it was in this way the ruin of Formosa had been effected; that some of the natives had been seduced into the habit of smoking opium, and that ‘from these the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation; so that, in process of time, the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated.’ He

\* Vol. I.—p. 643.

† Correspondence relating to China.—p. 170.

adds, 'If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step towards ruin.'\*

III. Mr. Ritchie's third chapter is on the Commercial Question; and in this he endeavours to show that the cultivation and sale of opium are commercially advantageous.

That the opium trade is productive of gain to some parties we have never thought of disputing: it is for the sake of gain that it is carried on. This may be said of every traffic, however infamous; and none but the most degraded of mankind would maintain that pecuniary considerations alone can justify what is in itself criminal and base. We will, however, examine Mr. Ritchie's commercial argument in detail.

We are not sure that Mr. Ritchie intended to produce an impression that benefit accrues to the peasantry engaged in the cultivation; but his language may have that effect on the minds of the uninformed. He says—'The increase in the cultivation has not taken place, as some have supposed, from compulsion, for the ryot is at liberty to plant his land with opium or not as he pleases; but he is in many respects better off, as will have been perceived, than other cultivators in India, and so is always glad to carry out the wishes, in this respect, of the Government.' Now, when men are in such a state of dependence on superiors as are the ryots of India, it is hard to say where free agency ends, and compulsion begins. An offer may be made which it is impossible to refuse. A request is, in some circumstances, equivalent to a command. 'These ryots are poor; their livelihood is derived from the cultivation of the land. Without advances made by the Government, Mr. Ritchie himself tells us, 'nothing can be done in India;' and, 'the advances for the cultivation of the opium are on a liberal scale.' The advances are offered, and the wishes of the Government are signified. As the starving pauper at home goes voluntarily, not by compulsion, into the union workhouse; as the dependent farmer votes voluntarily, not by compulsion, for the candidate who has been recommended to him by an intolerant landlord,—so the ryot cultivates the poppy, not by compulsion, but of his own free will. But no native capitalist offers his land for the cultivation of the poppy, because the crop is precarious, and the price given by the Government does not sufficiently remunerate. And, in a Committee of the House of Lords, a gentleman who had resided many years in India, and who at one time had charge of an opium district, being asked, Do the natives feel any objection to the cultivation of sugar? replied, 'No: they like sugar, but they do not like indigo much, or poppy, though they bring them

\* Correspondence relating to China.—p. 171.

good returns.\* And truly they have reason to dislike it; not merely because wherever opium is cultivated, men yield to its fascinations, and the health and morals of the district suffer, but also because it subjects them to annoyances and oppressions, which far outweigh any pecuniary advantages that it affords. The surveillance of the police, the authoritative intrusions of the searchers, the extortions of the dishonest native custom-house officers, combine to render the cultivation of the poppy, in the estimation of men who have a practical acquaintance with the subject, a heavy, nay, an intolerable grievance.

That it is not a profitable trade to the British merchants who have engaged in it, is conceded by some of its principal apologists. Mr. Inglis, after having resided in Canton sixteen years, and engaged in the traffic very largely, assured a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1840, that though the profits were sometimes very high; at other times they were very low; that he had known people totally ruined by it, and that it was in its very nature a gambling trade. 'I should say,' he observes, 'that there have been more losses than gains, while I have been in the trade, decidedly; and I think I can say, almost from my own experience of it, that there has been more money lost than made in China, in the opium trade, until lately. Within the last year or two there has been undoubtedly a good deal of money made; but prior to that time I hardly know three people that ever left China with fortunes made in the opium trade. On the contrary, it was most notorious that all those who touched the opium trade lost by it, except those three.'†

Who, then, are the real gainers? We reply, the East India Company. Mr. Ritchie says, 'Upon the whole, the principal gainers by opium have been the East India Company.' They are, in truth, the only habitual gainers. Individual speculators have gained by it, but they have been exceptions to a general rule. It is to the East India Company alone that the traffic is valuable; it is through their interest in it alone that it exists. One million and a quarter of their revenue is confessedly derived from it; and therefore they stimulate both the growth and the sale. They stimulate the growth: Mr. Inglis, before the Committee already mentioned, having spoken of the East India Company as increasing the quantity of opium almost every year, *without reference to the demand*, added, in explanation, 'I say the East India Company, because I conceive that nothing but a monopoly could have forced the opium in the way in which it was done.' . . . . 'I think it is nothing but the circumstance of the Company making so large a profit upon opium, that could

\* Report.—East India Company, 1840.—p. 76.

† Report.—Trade with China, 1840.—p. 39.



induce them for so long a series of years to go on increasing the quantity upon lower prices.\*

And be it observed, this opinion referred not merely to the opium produced in their own dominions, but to that produced beyond them; to 'all the opium grown in India.' The desire to increase the quantity of opium has indeed been formally acknowledged. In a letter to the Court of Directors, in 1830, the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, say, 'We are taking measures for extending the cultivation of the poppy, with a view to a large increase in the supply of opium to be offered for sale at this presidency.† And as they have stimulated the growth of the drug, so also have they stimulated its transmission to China. When heavy losses have been sustained by those who had carried it thither, in consequence of its selling badly, the Government has granted a remuneration for those losses.‡ 'They made a distinction,' said the late Mr. Jardine, 'between China and Singapore; they gave a larger remuneration to those who had purchased at a certain period for China than they did for any one else.'§ It is not the Chinese consumer then who stimulates the trade: the supply has been increased without reference to the demand in China. It is not the merchant who purchases the drug for sale that gives the cultivation its chief impulse: he asks remuneration for his losses of those who have a greater interest in the business than himself, and remuneration is granted. It is not the husbandman by whose industry it is produced; he, in cultivating it, complies with the wishes of his governors, who make advances to him for the purpose, demand from him every bale that he obtains, sell it at a profit of 300 per cent., and in cases of emergency interpose for the preservation of the traffic.

Whether it can be sound policy in the East India Company to cherish a trade with which is connected so much that is mean and pernicious, so much that is injurious to its reputation, and baneful to its subjects, is, however, a question which the directors would do well to consider. Gold may be purchased at too dear a rate; and if they could trace the whole of the influences and concomitants of this traffic, it is probable that they would conclude, that to renounce it, with all its gains, would be true wisdom. It was felt ten years ago to be of so doubtful a character that it was officially declared, that 'it would be highly imprudent to rely upon it as a permanent source of revenue.¶ Since that time, though the quantity exported from India has been increasing, the revenue derived from it by the Company

\* Report.—Trade with China, 1840.—p. 35. † Ibid, p. 165. ‡ Ibid, p. 170. § Ibid, p. 118. ¶ Report.—Trade with China. Appendix, p. 166.

has gradually diminished. Meanwhile their subjects who are employed in its production sustain moral and physical injury, from the temptation to conceal a part, and defraud the monopolists on the one hand; and on the other, from the temptation to partake, which is in general too powerful to be resisted, and which threatens to enfeeble that portion of the Company's dominions in which it is carried on, as it has already enfeebled Assam, where it has depopulated the country, and 'turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralized race in India.'\* While the diminution of the Company's moral influence, from its known connexion with practices that are clandestine, and sometimes even piratical, must in many ways injure its interests among the native princes of Asia. It is not all clear gain that is derived from this monopoly.

But whatever may be the views of the East India Company respecting this source of revenue, the British Parliament, taking a larger view of the subject, and regarding as it ought to do the general interests of the empire, will find evidence that to the nation at large this commerce in opium is an evil. Mr. Ritchie, indeed, says, 'It signifies little, however, to the nation, who are the gainers or losers. The trade we have thus slightly sketched is a most important medium of remittance, and at this moment the eyes of the mercantile world are turned towards it with intense interest.' What he means by this sentence is not quite clear. Is it the opium that he deems an important medium of remittance *to* China, or the silver obtained for it that is an important medium of remittance *from* China. For the latter purpose it is not required; for were it not for the opium trade, there would, at the present rate of importations, be no balance to remit. The articles we receive from China exceed in value by far our present exports to it, independently of opium. Does he mean, then, that opium is an important medium of remittance *to* China? If so, we reply, it would be far more profitable to our manufacturers and shipowners to remit broad cloths, cottons, twist, and other articles of home produce, than that the remittances should be made in opium. Oh! cries Mr. Ritchie, this amusing hallucination may be left to itself. 'Give up opium, say the British manufacturers; withdraw this pernicious drug, and our innocent goods will instantaneously take its place in the market. When the Chinese come to you, craving for the poison, and with horse-shoes of silver in their hands to pay for it, offer them a blanket instead, and they will never know the

\* Report of C. A. Bruce, Esq., East India Company's Superintendent of Tea Plantations in Assam.

difference! Indeed, we believe that they *will* know the difference. They will know that instead of poison we have brought them an article of utility; instead of a contraband drug, an article they may carry home openly; and, though a momentary disappointment may be felt by individuals, it will issue in permanent satisfaction. In addition to other testimony, we have that of the Councillor Choo-Tsun, in his memorial to the Emperor, that 'the broadcloths, and camlets, and cotton goods of the barbarians from beyond the pale of the empire, are in constant request.'\*

But Mr. Ritchie says, 'The manufacturers, however, ought to know that since the trade was thrown open, other articles of export have increased, in at least the same ratio as opium.' Now this is true, literally true, with regard to certain articles,—articles of *trivial* amount, or the introduction of which to the Chinese market is recent; but it is very far from being true with regard to articles of export generally. On the contrary, as the traffic in opium has increased, the traffic in British manufactures has declined. How should it be otherwise, when the quantity of opium imported into China, exceeds in value all the tea, and all the silk, that we receive from it? A striking illustration of the manner in which the opium trade affects the interests of our own manufactures, is given in the Memorial, as having occurred at Chusan, whither the 'Scotland' went laden with British goods, which found a ready sale till two opium clippers arrived; after which, not a bale could be disposed of, the remaining Chinese dollars being given in exchange for the drug.

This assertion Mr. Ritchie follows up by an exhibition of, what he calls, the state of trade; into which, however, we do not propose to follow him, partly because of the confusedness of his figures, and partly because it has no really important bearing on the question before us. Suffice it to say, that having given the *exports* from China in dollars, which he reduces to pounds sterling, he places under them the *imports*, not in dollars but in pounds sterling; that the item of British 'manufactures,' which he sets down as 'cottons,' is in fact raw Indian cotton; and, that he makes no mention of the gold, bar silver, and dollars, returned into China in exchange for native produce. There are other items in his statement, the meaning of which we cannot divine.

IV. Mr. Ritchie now proceeds to develop a fourth principle:—That it being impossible to prevent the introduction of opium into China, the profits now accruing from the trade would be lost by its suppression, without any compensating advantage.

\* Correspondence, p. 170.



He alleges, that 'although the Company have it in their power to increase at pleasure their charge on what is shipped by way of Bombay, they can never do this to such an extent as to discourage the transit trade, without giving it away altogether to the Portuguese;'—that, 'our retiring from the business, would have no other effect than that of stimulating the production, in Malwa, Turkey, Persia, and China, and eventually bringing into the field, Java, Luzon, and other islands of the Indian Archipelago;'—that, 'the East India Company may give up the cultivation of opium if they please, and thus hand over their profits on the article to the Malwarrees, Turks, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards;'—and, that 'even if the trade were given up by the British, it is clear that this would have no more than a partial and momentary effect in withholding the indulgence from the Chinese.'

Withholding the indulgence from the Chinese! This is not our object. We have never deemed it our duty to prevent their cultivating it, or buying it, or smoking it. All that we contend for is, that we should refrain from furnishing them with the article. If they obtain it from others, we are not responsible for that; but if we prepare it for them and carry it to their markets we are accessories to the injury it inflicts. That others may probably provide it for their consumption if we do not, is no alleviation of our guilt. There is scarcely any species of crime, in favour of the commission of which such a plea might not be set up. The thief might often plead this in extenuation of his offence:—'The property was exposed, I was needy, other depredators would most certainly have taken it, if I had not.' The hired assassin might plead this in extenuation of murder;—'I knew that there were others willing to undertake the business; it would not have saved his life had I refused; I should only have given away the profit to a less scrupulous bravo.' In many cases this would accord with fact; but the actual perpetrator would still be held guilty in every court, whether human or divine.

But, to look at the subject commercially,—suppose the trade were carried on by Turks, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, or Spaniards; would the stain upon our mercantile reputation, or the injury to our other traffic be the same as though it were carried on by Englishmen? If our commerce had been exempt from the interruptions and embarrassments occasioned by the opium trade, during the last quarter of a century, would not this have conduced to its interests? If it had been known to the emperor and all his officers, that opium was an article with which the subjects of the British crown never meddled, would it not have afforded to us facilities for extending our intercourse

with the Chinese millions? If we could have asserted with truth —‘this contraband traffic belongs to Turks, Persians, Dutch, and Spaniards, but as you well know not to us Britons,’—should we have stood on the same footing as that on which we have actually stood? Would the history of the last few years have read as it now reads? Is it probable that then the importation of British manufactures would have declined, as it has done in proportion as the opium trade has increased?

But the supposition is itself futile. That no measures will be effectual to suppress the trade, while the East India Company pursues its present course, we are perfectly aware. While that powerful body employs its capital in advances to the cultivators, purchases all that they can produce, sells it expressly for the Chinese market, and evinces in substantial forms its sympathy with those purchasers who make unfortunate speculations, it is quite vain to suppose that the trade will be prevented by any proclamations or laws. But if the East India Government were to give up the cultivation, and prohibit the transmission of the drug through its territories, which it must do if the British parliament were to enjoin it; then, we maintain, the traffic would be so curtailed and enfeebled that it could only be in opposition to great difficulties, and after the lapse of many years, that its vigour could be restored.

Whence, in that case, would the supply be furnished. Behar and Benares, the only provinces in the Company’s dominions in which its growth is now permitted, would cease to yield it, at the Company’s mandate. This will be universally admitted. But Malwa, it will be said, Malwa now furnishes thousands of chests annually, and in that case it will furnish thousands more. But how is it to be transmitted to China, situated as that province is, if the Company forbids its transit? It was formerly smuggled to the Portuguese port of Damaun, and thence shipped to China; but this was always a difficult process, and we believe it would now be impracticable. An English gentleman residing in that part of India, who has taken pains to inform himself on the subject, writes thus:—

‘Before the Bombay government reduced their fee for passing the Malwa through their territories to Bombay, to one hundred and twenty-five rupees per chest, a very considerable portion of the produce of Malwa was shipped from Damaun, a Portuguese settlement about one hundred miles north of Bombay. The route by which it reached Damaun was as follows. If you refer to a chart, you will observe that they kept clear of our territories by passing through probably a part of Mewar, to the northward of Deessa and Cutch, to Kerutchee, a sea port near the mouth of the Indus, then belonging either to the Ameers of Scinde, or some independent Rajah; and from Kuratchee it was taken by native boats to

Damaun, not above two days sail in the North East Monsoon. Thus it never was in our territories at all. But when the Company reduced the duty to one hundred and twenty-five rupees, people preferred paying the tribute to the Company, as thereby they had an opportunity of inspecting the drug for themselves here; and this is a very material point, as it is a very easy matter to adulterate it.

'Kurutchee, with many other places in Scinde, the Company, by the right of might only, seized, about December, 1838; so that we, having the command of all the sea ports of Scinde, it is not in the power of the opium dealers to get it to Damaun any longer, except by smuggling it through the Company's territories, which might be done, to a very small extent only, as it could not be passed through our territories in any quantity. A few cakes might be concealed, and carried by people through bye-paths and jungles, but not by the regular roads, which are few and carefully guarded.

'The sea ports at Beloochistan, further to the westward than Kurutchee, opium never could be taken to: so that, if the East India Company were determined to prevent its exit from Malwa through their territories, it could only be so small a quantity as could never be of any material consequence as an export to China.'

This was written before the recent conquests were made; and, in fact, the ascendancy of the East India Company over these native provinces was such, even then, that they were quite able, had they pleased, to restrict the cultivation of the drug. This was attested by their own political agent in these very states, Lieut. Col. Tod, who, writing on the spot, in 1820, advises that this course should be adopted. After giving an historical account, as far as he had been able to obtain it, of the manner in which opium had been cultivated, he says:

'Such is the history, and, I believe, a pretty correct one, of the growth and extension of this execrable and demoralizing plant for the last forty years. If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its culture to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy. It is no less our interest than our duty to do so, and to call forth genuine industry, for the improvement of cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and other products, which would enrich instead of demoralizing, and thereby impoverishing the country\*.

And again he says:

'But our monopoly acted as an encouragement of this vice; for no sooner was it promulgated that the *Compani Sahib* was contractor general for opium, than prince and peasant, nay the very scavengers, dabbled in the speculation. All Malwa was thrown into a ferment, like the Dutch tulip-bubble; the most fraudulent purchases and transfers were effected by men who had not a seer of opium in their possession. The

\* Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, vol. ii., p. 634.



extent to which this must have gone may be imagined, when, according to the return, the sales, in the first year of our monopoly, exceeded one million sterling, in which I rather think we gained a loss of some £40,000. It is to be hoped the subject is now better understood, and that the legislature at home will perceive that a perseverance in this pernicious traffic is consistent neither with our honour, 'our interest, nor with humanity.'

The East India Company, then, what with its influence with the native rajahs, and what with its ability to control the ports to which alone Malwese opium could be conveyed, would be quite able to cut off effectually any supply from that province. Then as to other places where it is supposed the cultivation might be commenced, there are formidable obstacles in the way, or the attempt, it may fairly be presumed, would be made now. To gain a share in the traffic as now carried on, would not be deemed a trifling gain: were it as easy as some seem to suppose, these competitors would not wait for the withdrawment of the East India Company. But let the East India Company abandon it, and it must be evident to others that their success in the enterprise must be slow and doubtful. It requires the very best soil; the climate must be of a certain temperature, much of India is too hot for it. It needs the advance of large capital; and great care and attention on the part of the cultivator. The crop is precarious; and the market, a market so uncertain and inconvenient, that it is understood that even the potent British East India Company has withdrawn from it, and that the empires of China and Britain are united in endeavours to discountenance the traffic in every possible way. To commence the cultivation in such circumstances would not be a very safe or enticing speculation.

V. On one more principle which Mr. Ritchie avows, we will bestow a few sentences. It is in his opinion unbecoming that Great Britain should assist in enforcing the revenue laws of China. To present temptations to the most worthless part of the Chinese community to break the laws of their country, may comport better, it seems, with the dignity of the British Government, than to assist in maintaining laws which are merely of Chinese origin. He speaks of 'the extravagance of the plan advocated by others for making Great Britain assist the Chinese in enforcing their own revenue laws;' and again he says: 'As for Government punishing its own subjects for smuggling into other countries, or even forbidding them to do so, it is a thing altogether unknown in the intercourse of nations, and quite out of the question.'

Popular as this argument is among some advocates of the trade, the facts already adduced explode it. It is futile for him

who is throwing about fire-brands to plead that he is only in sport, that he has a right to amuse himself in his own way, and that he is not answerable for the consequences that ensue after they have left his premises. It is equally futile for him who cultivates a drug expressly for the Chinese market, preparing it carefully in accordance with the Chinese taste, to plead that he is not implicated in the evils it causes, inasmuch as he abstains from carrying it to China himself. The government is a party to the proceeding: it is the head of a firm in which each partner has his own sphere of operation. The Chinese Government is bound, when at peace with Britain, to restrain its subjects from assailing and burning the British factory. The British Government is bound, when at peace with China, to restrain its subjects from bombarding Canton. On the same principle it is bound to restrain its subjects from pursuing a course which is, in the estimation of the Chinese rulers, as injurious to their provinces as fire or the sword. But is it not, at least, the duty of the British Government to take care of the interests of its own subjects? If the smuggling trade is injurious to our legal commerce, is not the Government bound to protect our legal commerce against the smugglers? If not for the sake of the Chinese, yet for the sake of the men of Yorkshire and Lancashire is it not bound to interpose? If this smuggling trade has interrupted again and again that commerce which is valuable to our own citizens; if it causes habitual jealousy, irritation, and dislike among a people with whom it would be advantageous to us to cultivate a good understanding; if it was, as Mr. Ritchie says, 'the proximate cause of the war declared in 1840,' and if it is adapted to produce local collisions, and eventually renewed hostilities, disastrous to the peaceful interests of this manufacturing and trading nation, are not our governors bound for these reasons to put it down? Are they, our appointed guardians, to stand by and see the injuries inflicted upon our own people in Hindoosthan and in Britain, and refrain from redressing them, lest in so doing they should be affording protection also to Chinese interests, and co-operating with the fiscal measures of an ally?

Nothing short of the energetic interference of the British Government will be effectual; and this only by suppressing the cultivation of the poppy. Of Mr. Ritchie's conviction of this we have strong evidence. His zeal for the continuance of the culture shows his opinion that were it cultivated, it would find its way to the market, so as to produce a continued revenue to the cultivator. Leave the dealers in the article to Chinese opposition, is the spirit of his counsel; do not touch them yourselves, and the advantages derived from the opium trade will

still be realized. In this we entirely agree with him. Without the interposition of the British Government, nothing can be effectual for the removal of the evil: the Chinese will still be seduced and debilitated; the cause of irritation between the two nations will remain; and Christianity will still be impeded and dishonoured in the sight of all Asia, by its professed adherents.

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Art. V. *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, by James Backhouse. Illustrated by Three Maps, Fifteen Etchings, and several Woodcuts, 8vo. pp. 704. Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1843.

THE writer of this Narrative is a respectable member and minister of the Society of Friends, whose mind was deeply impressed for a long time with the belief 'that he was called to visit, in the love of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the inhabitants of the British colonies and settlements in New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and South Africa.' In the prosecution of this conviction the voyages and visits recorded in the work before us were made. The narrative has been prepared, we are informed, from a journal kept by the author, 'in which, having been trained to habits of observation, records were made, not only on religious subjects, but also on such as regarded the productions of the countries visited, the state of the aborigines, and of the emigrant and prisoner population, &c.' There can be but one opinion as to the motives which actuated our author to engage in his missionary enterprise. We only wish that such examples of self-denying labour among men of wealth and leisure were not so rare. The mode in which Christian laymen (we hate the word, and only use it for want of a better) may promote missions abroad by *personal service*, and the duty of them to do so, are subjects that have yet to be brought prominently before the churches. It would be a most delightful and a most fruitful thing if some of the rich members of our churches who have nothing else to do would just betake themselves to a scene of foreign labour, where their character and influence might produce their fullest effect in favour of the gospel; where they might encourage and assist some zealous but desponding brother, gladden his heart by intercourse, lessen his cares by sympathy, and help the execution of his plans, now imperfectly and feebly carried out, by money, by labour, and by prayer.

Our author, and his companion, George Washington Walker, bearing certificates from the meetings for discipline to which



they respectively belonged, sailed for Van Dieman's Land, September 3rd, 1831, on board the 'Science.' They had for fellow-passengers forty-six Chelsea pensioners who had commuted their pensions for an advance of four years' payment. Indeed their selection of the 'Science' in which to make the voyage was the result of an anxiety to benefit these people, whose conduct seems to have abundantly evinced the need of benevolent efforts for their welfare, as the following extract will show:—

'We sailed from the Downs on the 9th, and from that time till we reached the Cape of Good Hope few days passed without some of the pensioners being intoxicated and quarrelling: sometimes but few were sober; and, occasionally, the women were as bad as the men. Three times the captain was seized by different men, who threatened to throw him overboard. One man was nearly murdered by one of his fellows, and all kinds of sin prevailed among them. A fruitful source of this disorder was a daily allowance to each person of about five liquid ounces of spirits. Some saved it for a few days, and then got drunk with it: some purchased it from others, and so long as their money lasted, or they could sell their clothes, were constantly intoxicated. The general excitement produced by this quantity of spirits made them irritable in temper, and seemed to arouse every corrupt passion of the human mind. To all expostulation, the constant reply was: 'We are free men, and it is our own: we have paid for it, and have a right to do as we please with it.'—p. 2.

Of these pensioners a melancholy account is given in 1837:—

'A few of the pensioners who came to the colony with us, in the Science, were still in this neighbourhood, but several had been removed by death, chiefly from drinking intoxicating liquors. A very small number of the remnant maintained themselves above poverty.—4th mo, 14th. One of the pensioners called upon us, presenting a forlorn specimen of the effects of instability and inebriety. According to his own statement, he gave up a little farm in England, on which he was doing well, to follow a vicious woman, who forsook him upon the voyage, after having wasted all that he had. Since he came to this land his propensity for strong drink had been a constant hindrance to his prosperity. About two years ago a tree fell upon him, on Bruny Island, from the effects of which he still suffers. Thus, 'a stranger in a strange land,' and half a cripple, he is a burden to the public and to himself.'—p. 472.

Nothing worse occurred during the voyage than a severe squall, the going to sleep of the mate on watch, and the seeing a vessel which looked like a pirate; and so, having touched at the Cape, the ship reached without loss or damage Van Dieman's Land, sailing up the Derwent to Hobart Town. The two Friends appear to have used every means available for the im-

provement of the pensioners, and during the voyage the ship's company, maintaining religious worship, and seeking interviews for religious conversation, with what effect cannot be known perhaps in this world.

Van Dieman's Land, or Tasmania, was discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman in 1642, who named it after Anthony Van Dieman, Governor-General of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. It lies between  $40^{\circ} 42'$  and  $43^{\circ} 43'$  S. lat., and between  $144^{\circ} 40'$  and  $148^{\circ} 20'$  E. long., and is supposed to contain about 15,000,000 acres. Until 1798 it was looked upon as part of Australia, but in that year Dr. Bass discovered it to be an island, and five years later the English, true to their vocation, took possession of it. It is mountainous, and is covered with forest, but has many fertile plains, and a delicious climate; thus presenting temptations stronger than any that have been known to be resisted by its new possessors. The aborigines were of the Negro race, moderate in stature, dark in colour, with black woolly hair, without clothes, and for the most part without houses. With true barbarian taste they polished themselves from head to foot with red ochre and grease, which was however useful as well as ornamental, enabling them the better to bear the changes of the weather. They consisted of a few small tribes, the population of the country being extremely thin. These poor creatures were destined to experience the usual kindness of European treatment. Aggression prompted to self-defence. They were shot, and their ground taken from them, and they naturally sought to expel their robbers and assailants, whom, however, though they could injure and annoy, they could not extirpate. This system of retaliation was terminated, not by force but kindness, the natives consenting to 'give themselves up to the protection of the Government, on condition of being well provided for on an island in Bass's Straits.' They were accordingly removed, by degrees, to Flinder's, or Great Island, where they are now. Our author thus describes what took place on his visiting them there:—

'A considerable number of the aborigines were upon the beach when we landed, close by the settlement, but they took no notice of us until requested to do so by W. J. Darling; they then shook hands with us very affably. It does not accord with their ideas of proper manners to appear to notice strangers, or to be surprised at any novelty. On learning that plenty of provisions had arrived by the cutter, they shouted for joy. After sunset they had a 'corrobery,' or dance around a fire, which they kept up till after midnight, in testimony of their pleasure.

'In these dances the aborigines represented certain events, or the manners of different animals: they had a horse dance, an emu dance, a thunder and lightning dance, and many others. In their horse dance

they formed a string, moving in a circle, in a half stooping posture, holding by each other's loins, one man at the same time going along as if reining in the others, and a woman as driver striking them gently as they passed. Sometimes their motions were extremely rapid, but they carefully avoided treading one upon another. In the emu dance, they placed one hand behind them, and alternately put the other to the ground and raised it above their heads, as they passed slowly round the fire, imitating the motion of the head of the emu when feeding. In the thunder and lightning dance they moved their feet rapidly, bringing them to the ground with great force, so as to produce a loud noise, and make such a dust as rendered it necessary for spectators to keep to windward of the group. Each dance ended with a loud shout, like a last effort of exhausted breath. The exertion used made them very warm, and occasionally one or other plunged into the adjacent lagoon. One of the chiefs stood by to direct them, and now and then turned to the bystanders and said, 'Narra, coopa corrobory,'—'very good dance'—evidently courting applause.—pp. 81, 82.

The capital of Van Dieman's Land is Hobart Town, which lies on the side of the Derwent. Its situation is beautiful. In 1837 the population was 14,461, and as it was then rapidly increasing, and had nearly doubled during the six preceding years, it must be very much more now. Our travellers had a letter of introduction from Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Colonel Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor, whose character and conduct are highly commended. 'Our first interview,' says our author, 'gave us a favourable impression of his character as a governor and as a Christian, which further acquaintance with him strongly confirmed. He took great interest in the temporal and spiritual prosperity of the colonists, and in the reformation of the prisoner population, as well as in the welfare of the surviving remnant of the native black inhabitants; and he assured us that every facility should be granted us in attempts to further any of these objects'—a pledge which he seems to have abundantly fulfilled. Hobart Town was the head quarters of our travellers, who made several excursions to different parts of the colony and to the neighbouring islands. We cannot, of course, trace them in their voyages and journeyings, but shall give two or three interesting extracts respecting very different classes of persons. Our first regards some convicts who came out in the *Elizabeth*, in February 1832. They—

'Belonged to a society of thieves in London, who limited their number to forty members, admitted by their captain, at any age, but preferring the young. They were distinguished by marks, which had occasionally been changed because others had imitated them. They met at certain times to be trained to expertness in pocket-picking, and to



divide their booty, which was expended in dissipation and profligacy, unless any of their number were in prison ; in which case a portion was devoted to paying counsel for them on their trial. Several other such societies are said to exist in the metropolis of England. Some of the juvenile prisoners had been confined on board a hulk before being sent to Van Dieman's Land. In this situation they appeared to have corrupted each other greatly. There is much ground to apprehend that the juvenile hulks are nurseries of vice and crime.'—p. 20.

Our readers will perceive from the following description some of the blessings that await them if they contemplate becoming settlers in Tasmania. We presume the case is essentially similar to that of settlers everywhere.

' When a place is first occupied by a settler, a hut of the simplest kind is formed, often like a mere roof resting on the ground ; and, when other needful things have been effected, one of upright logs is built, and covered with shingles. This is usually divided into two rooms ; one of which is fitted up with broad rough shelves, for sleeping berths ; and the other, which has a square recess for a fire-place, built of stones at the outer end, and continued into a rude chimney, a little higher than the roof, is used for a cooking and sitting room. The crevices between the logs either remain open, or are filled with wool or some other material. A square opening, closing with a shutter, admits light into each room ; and short logs of wood or rude benches, serve for seats. Many families that have been brought up in England in respectable circumstances, live for several years in a hut of this description, until they can find time and means to build themselves a better habitation ; and a hut of this kind is generally to be seen contiguous to a better house, and is occupied by the male servants, who are mostly prisoners.'—p. 29.

This, however, is only one view of the case. Hardship and self-denial may be the lot of settlers, but they precede and prepare for comfort and competency. The fruitfulness of summer follows the severity of winter. The exercise of wisdom, and patience, and diligence, secures its reward. Many illustrations of this are furnished in the volume before us, as well as many evidences, that with indolence and intemperance there can be little hope of advancement and success. After all, it is melancholy to reflect on the privations that are endured in a distant land, by those who have been born and nursed in all the comforts of our beloved island ; and, when we consider, (as who can fail to do it ?) that in but too many cases this hard compulsion arises from partial and unjust legislation, indignation is added to our sorrow.

We cannot refrain from giving part of a dismal picture of the penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour, since removed to Port Arthur.

' Notwithstanding the fine scenery of Macquarie Harbour, it was a

gloomy place in the eyes of a prisoner, from the privations he suffered there, in being shut out from the rest of the world, and restricted to a limited quantity of food, which did not include fresh meat; from being kept under a military guard; from the hardships he endured, in toiling almost constantly in the wet, at felling timber and rolling it to the water, and from other severe labour; without wages, as well as from the liability to be flogged or subjected to solitary confinement, for small offences.

'Out of eighty-five deaths that occurred here in eleven years, commencing with 1822, only thirty-five were from natural causes; of the remainder, twenty-seven were drowned and killed accidentally, chiefly by the falling of trees; three were shot by the military, and twelve murdered by their comrades. There is reason to believe, that some of these murders were committed for the purpose of obtaining for the murderers, and those who might be called upon as witnesses on their trials, a removal from this place; though, at the ultimate cost of the life of the murderers, and without a prospect of liberation on the part of the others! Some of the prisoners who returned with us in the 'Tamar,' had been witnesses in such a case; but they had had the privilege of the change, for a time, to the Penitentiary at Hobart Town! These circumstances, with the fact, that within the eleven years, one hundred and twelve prisoners had eloped from this settlement, proved also that its privations were felt to be very great.

'Escape from Macquarie Harbour was well known to be a difficult, and very hazardous undertaking; and very few who attempted it reached the settled parts of the colony. Out of the one hundred and twelve who eloped, sixty-two were supposed to have perished in the bush; and nine were murdered by their comrades on their journey, for a supply of food. For this purpose, the party proposing to attempt traversing the formidable forest, selected a weak-minded man, and persuaded him to accompany them; and, when the slender stock of provisions which they had contrived to save from their scanty rations, was exhausted, they laid violent hands on their victim. One party, when lately apprehended near the settled districts, had in their possession, along with the flesh of a kangaroo, a portion of that of one of their comrades! An appalling evidence of how easily man, in a depraved state, may descend even to cannibalism.

'Of the small number who reached the settled part of the country, some were immediately apprehended; a few became formidable marauders, and were ultimately shot or executed; others escaped to New South Wales, but, continuing their evil practices, were transported to Norfolk Island; and of the remainder, who were an inconsiderable number, the circumstances remain doubtful.'—pp. 49, 50.

We must give one more glance at the aborigines on Flinders Island, for whom we have conceived great respect, and whom we would commend to the attention and imitation of our readers, not excepting the fair portion of them.

'The aborigines, having noticed that the few soldiers at this station, who were placed as a guard against the sealers, were mustered on First-day mornings, to see that they had made themselves properly clean,



voluntarily commenced mustering in a similar way; they also brought out the wares with which they had been entrusted, to have them inspected. The commandant took advantage of this, and encouraged them to do so weekly. This morning they presented their tin pots and plates, knives and spoons, bright and clean; and, except three men, were clean in their apparel. These men complained, that the women had not washed their clothes, and threatened to wash them themselves, if they should again be so neglected! The men were dressed in duck frocks and trousers, and had handkerchiefs about their necks. The women had on stuff under-garments, and checked bed-gowns, and had handkerchiefs on their heads, and around their shoulders. Many of their countenances were fine and expressive. It was surprising to see how much improved some of the most unsightly of the women had become by being decently clad; they scarcely looked like the same race of beings. They afterwards assembled in a very orderly manner, with the white people, in the rude shelter of boughs, used as a chapel.'—p. 174.

'These people have received a few faint ideas of the existence and superintending providence of God; but they still attribute the strong emotions of their minds to the devil, who, they say, tells them this or that, and to whom they attribute the power of prophetic communication. It is not clear that by the devil, they mean anything more than a spirit, but they say, he lives in their breath, on which account they shrink from having the breast touched. One of their names for a white man signifies, a white devil or spirit; this has probably arisen from their mistaking white men at first for spiritual beings. They have also some vague ideas of a future existence, as may be inferred from their remarks respecting the deceased woman on the Hunter's Islands, before mentioned. They also say they suppose that when they die, they shall go to some of the islands in the straits, and jump up white men; but the latter notion may be of modern date.'—pp. 181, 182.

In December, 1834, having spent nearly three years in Tasmania our travellers sailed for Sydney, New South Wales, of which place the following description is given.

'In point of building, Sydney strikes us as being more like a large English town, than Hobart Town. Many of the houses are in contact, the shops are quite English. In general appearance, the buildings are like those of towns within thirty miles of London. In the court-yards, and the gardens of the more retired streets, peach, orange, and loquat trees, grape vines, and many singular and beautiful shrubs are growing luxuriantly; here and there, towering Norfolk Island pines also mark the difference from the climate of England. White mulberry forms a common screen round the gardens, and a small tree, called here white cedar, *melia azederach*, is often planted between the houses and the outer fence of the premises.'—p. 232.

Australia was the scene of the residence and labours of the missionary friends for more than three years. During this period, they visited the different penal and other settlements.



We shall not follow them in their various movements, but prefer presenting our readers with a few general views, and observations on subjects of great interest, illustrated in their volume.

Respecting the convict population, we have much information furnished us. To benefit them, Messrs. Backhouse and Walker laboured hard, and, in several instances, not in vain. There may be different opinions on the subject of transportation at all, and many more as to the wisdom and benevolence of the methods of treatment to which transported convicts have been subjected, upon which topics we say nothing now. But as to the severity of the punishments, there can be little doubt in the mind of any one perusing this volume. The language of our travellers is fully justified by the facts which they record, when they say—

‘The more we have seen of the state of the prisoners in these colonies, the more fully we are satisfied, that transportation is a severe punishment. The state of the prisoner is, in most instances, one of privation, and to him, of painful restraint, as well as of separation from his connexions and country. And if he be a disorderly man, and in consequence be sentenced to an ironed-gang, we can scarcely conceive a situation more miserable. To be locked up from sunset to sunrise, in the caravans or boxes used for this description of prisoners, which hold from twenty to twenty-eight men; but in which the whole number can neither stand upright, nor sit down at the same time, (except with their legs at a right angle with their bodies,) and which, in some instances, do not afford more than eighteen inches in width for each individual to lie down in on the bare boards, and to be marked out, and kept to a monotonous employment, under a strict military guard during the day, and to be liable to suffer flagellation for even a trifling offence, such as an exhibition of obstinacy, that may be excited by the capricious conduct of an overseer, is truly a miserable state, and one to which death itself would be greatly preferable, were it not for the eternal consequences that await the unprepared.’

The perusal of this narrative has greatly strengthened a feeling of the wrong and injury which the aborigines of the lands referred to have experienced at the hands of British people,—professors though they be of the Christian religion. Alas! the story is the same for all lands. The history of English colonization is, with very few exceptions, the history of injustice, treachery, and blood. Natural rights have been violated, and moral obligations sacrificed, with a prodigality of vice. Innumerable illustrations of the deep injury suffered by the blacks of Tasmania and Australia occur in this volume. In every variety of form the dismal fact is brought before us. They are made the objects of injustice and of calumny at once. The order of iniquity is this: first, to treat the natives as if not men, and then to justify this by saying that

they are not men—depriving them of the rank of humanity, to vindicate the destruction of their human rights and the laceration of their human feelings. ‘They were a people,’ said one who spoke the sentiments of very many, ‘who deserved no consideration, but whom it would be best to destroy whenever they were troublesome.’ They have accordingly received every kind of injury; and moral vitiation has been added to oppression and cruelty. While they have been treated as if not men, they have been made worse than beasts—crimes the most disgusting, being now rife amongst them from the example and influence of Europeans. We cannot furnish long confirmations of these remarks. Let this be a specimen of one evil: ‘It is greatly to be regretted that these rights’ (of the blacks at Adelaide) ‘were not secured by the act of the British legislature for the settlement of this province; but instead of this being done, the country is described in the act ‘as certain waste and unoccupied lands;’ and it has been disputed by men of the law, whether, from the tenor of the words used, these aboriginal inhabitants could legally possess land in this country, which was their own by birthright, and which they have done nothing to forfeit.’ As to another and a worse class of injuries, because moral ones, the following scene may suggest much: ‘Several groups of blacks are now in town,’ (Sydney,) ‘from districts of the coast to the southward. As is too commonly the case, they are much intoxicated. When walking this morning, I saw several parties of them by little fires, around which they had been sleeping. One of them, who had his hand in a sling, said he cut it when drunk yesterday. I asked another, whose shirt was besmeared with blood, what made him in that condition. He replied, ‘Drink, sir.’ Thus, these poor creatures are injured by the profligacy of the white population, who give them drink, till their tribes are fast perishing from the face of the earth.\* Instead of the destruction of life and property so often

\* ‘The blacks even pretend to be intoxicated when they are not, from the force of example. They ‘reel after drinking the infusion of sugar-bags, and put on the appearance of intoxication so well, that it has generally been supposed that the liquor really made them drunk. The following circumstances satisfied an acquaintance of ours that this appearance of intoxication was feigned, and our own observation has confirmed this view. The son of this person was, on a certain occasion, boiling down brine, to make salt, when a black man came in, and asked if the liquor were rum. The young man, instead of answering the question, asked the black if he would have some: he answered in the affirmative, and took a tin-pot full, which he drank off. He then began to throw about his arms, and to stagger. The young man derided him, saying he surely did not mean to pretend to be drunk. The man replied, ‘Me murry (very) drunk, like a gentleman.’ This circumstance induced our informant to remonstrate with some blacks, who were making the same pretence in Sydney, and they made similar replies.’



quoted as a reason for extermination, affording any proof of the peculiar moral degradation of the blacks, the patience with which they have borne their insults and injuries is remarkable. We accept the testimony of the colonial chaplain given at the table of the governor, in the presence of our travellers, as simply just and true, 'that in almost every case where any of the white people had been destroyed by the blacks, the whites were the faulty party.' It is impossible for those who believe in the moral government of God, and whose principles have been corrected and refined by the ethics of the gospel, to contemplate our colonial aggressions and iniquities without the most distressing apprehensions. When inquisition is made for blood, when God arises for the oppressed, the lot of Britain will indeed be sad, if she repent not. May she know the day of her visitation, and put away her sins that they may not be her ruin!

Intoxication seems to be a prevalent and desolating vice in these regions. All classes are more or less affected by it. Whites and blacks, settlers and prisoners, are all 'given to strong drink.' One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement and prosperity of the colony is the amazing consumption of ardent spirit. It is the root of all evil. It is destructive to all the habits necessary to success, and promotive of all the vices that secure failure. Of the convict population, it is said in a report to the governor, that—

'The measure of reformation among them, evinced by the adoption of better principles, is exceedingly small. This need not excite surprise, when the paucity of the means employed for their reformation is considered, in connexion with the facilities for obtaining strong drink, that are placed in their way, notwithstanding the regulations prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to prisoners. The opportunities open to them, from the vast number of licensed public-houses, and of places where spirits are sold covertly, are available to a large proportion of the prisoners, who are constantly committing petty thefts to enable them to gratify their propensity for strong drink.'

The account given of the Swan River Settlement, Western Australia, in connexion with this subject, is very distressing.

'It is difficult to estimate the ruin that has been brought upon this colony by the consumption of spirits. The whole revenue of the Government, amounting to about £7,000 a year, is derived from spirits, in the form of duty on the imports; so that the amount of capital annually paid for them must be much more considerable. The colony is so poor as to be unable to support sheep in sufficient quantity to stock its lands, so that the holders of grants of from 5,000 to 100,000 acres, have little stock of any kind upon them. Such grants are consequently of so little value as to occasion land to be sold as low as from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per acre! Had the money expended in spirits, since the foundation of the



colony, been occupied in the importation of sheep, it is not improbable that land might now have been ten times its present value ; and had no grants originally exceeded 5,000 acres, many more persons would have had the means of maintaining flocks of about 1,000 sheep each. The wealth of the colony would probably have been thus increased, so as to have rendered grants of this size, by this time, as valuable as those of 50,000 acres each now are. Spirit drinking, and avarice in obtaining grants of large extent, have paralyzed the country, which, beyond a doubt, is naturally very inferior to what was originally represented. The exports of oil and wool are yet very inconsiderable, perhaps not amounting to £4,000 in any one year, and almost the only other sources of income to the colony are, the payments of government salaries, the supply of provision to the few ships that put in here, and a little arising from private property. The persons who have improved their circumstances by emigration to this country are labourers, store-keepers, and a few others, into whose hands much of the capital that was originally in the possession of other colonists, has passed ; but by this transition, the capital of the colony is not increased. Its population is said to be now only about 2,000, or one-third of what it was three years after the colony was first settled. Death, frequently the result of drinking, and emigration to Australia and Tasmania have been the chief causes of this reduction.'

In parting with our friends, we beg to repeat the expression of our respect for the zeal which they displayed, and the wisdom with which that display was marked. That their mission has not been unfruitful to any class among whom they have laboured, settlers, convicts, or natives, we rejoice. The record of the scenes and services of their missionary ministry is interesting, as such a record by an intelligent and well-informed man could scarcely fail to be. It will, doubtless, meet with great acceptance among the Friends, for whose special edification it is intended. Containing a great deal of denominational matter, a plentiful supply of the sentiments and phrases which obtain in that respectable society, it will not have the same chance of acceptance among other readers. The author is of the 'straitest sect' of his 'religion,' and loses no fitting opportunity of expounding and defending the principles and peculiarities of that religion. With all our reverence for conscientious convictions, and all our approval of pure motives, we have not been able to perceive, in some of the scenes recorded in this volume, the peculiar adaptation of the sentiments and customs of the Friends for missionary purposes.

There is, however, much that is free from a sectarian complexion—much statistical and scientific information, especially botanical—many interesting anecdotes—descriptions of scenery—besides, what is the main substance of the work, a minute account of the missionary labours of our author and his friend. One great objection we feel, and so will most of those who read

the volume. It is much too large. If, instead of 700 pages, the choicest and most important things had been compressed within 200 or 300, more discretion would have been exercised. We only add, that there are many wood-cuts and etchings, with three large and good maps of the World, Tasmania, and New South Wales.

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- Art VI. 1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1844.* By the Author of 'The Women of England.'
2. *The Juvenile Scrap Book.* 1844.
3. *China, in a Series of Views displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that Ancient Empire. Drawn from Original and Authentic Sources,* By Thomas Allom, Esq. *With Historical and Descriptive Notices.* By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. I. London : Fisher and Co.

FISHER'S DRAWING ROOM SCRAP BOOK wears the aspect of an old and familiar friend, and as such is always welcome. It needs no introduction, but is sure of a hearty greeting, whatever changes may have taken place in our intimacies and tastes since its last appearance. The tasteful beauty of its exterior, the number, variety, and richness of its illustrations, the general excellence of its poetic accompaniments, and the true womanly heart and pure spirit which pervade the whole, render the present volume as fascinating a companion as any of its predecessors. The author of *The Women of England* is admirably adapted for the editorial post assigned her. Her sensibility, her truthfulness, her powers of song, and skill in narrative, her freedom from the partial views of many religionists, and her supreme regard to the welfare of her sex, and deep reverence for sacred truth, all point her out as eminently qualified for the work which has fallen into her hands. The present volume is introduced with a portrait of the editor, engraved from an original painting, taken, we are informed by the publishers, expressly for the work. There is an air of sadness in the countenance with which we would gladly have dispensed, and which goes further than words to prove that sorrow has not always been a stranger to the heart. May the consolations and hopes of the Christian faith sustain and cheer her spirit in the discharge of her various labours.

Besides the frontispiece and vignette, the volume contains thirty-four illustrations; all of which, some for artistic skill, some for picturesque beauty, and others for richness of embel-

lishment, are no way inferior to those of former years. Selected from a variety of other works, they constitute a group than which it would be difficult to imagine a more elegant or appropriate volume for the *boudoir* or drawing-room. The following stanzas, commemorating the immortality of intellect, accompany a plate of

ATHENS FROM THE ILISSUS.

They libel Nature's truth who say  
That thou shouldst die.  
Thou canst not die ! far, far away,  
Thy noble ruins hoar and grey,  
Majestic lie.  
And scattering beauty o'er the plain,  
Thy days of glory bring again.

2.

Thou canst not die, while art shall live  
Her tenderest touch of truth to give  
To forms of clay ;  
Thy noblest models, best defined,  
Majestic work of lofty mind,  
Her triumph they,  
Shall breath in marble pure and chaste,  
Till beauty from the world of taste  
Shall fade away.

3.

Thou canst not die ! What human mind  
At once enlightened and refined,  
But loves thee yet ?  
But while thine own Ilissus flows,  
Where walked the sage at evening's close  
Can we forget,  
How many a lofty thought we owe  
To those who watched its waters flow?

4.

Thou canst not die ! Proud Salamis  
Looks o'er thy bay ;  
And points to such a scene as this  
With ruins grey ;  
To tell how glorious was the past,  
Which ruined, thus can live and last.

5.

Nothing can die which e'er has known  
A power like thine.



We muse upon the sculptured stone,  
And deem thy days of glory gone,  
No more to shine.

6.

But let the tempest crush thy pride,  
And mouldering columns side by side  
Neglected lie ;  
Far o'er the distant world of mind  
The spirit ranges, unconfined !  
Thou canst not die !

Our other extract, which illustrates a beautiful sketch of the *Gardens of the Seraglio*, at Constantinople, is characterized by the matronly purity and high sense of woman's worth and claims which distinguish all Mrs. Ellis's writings.

THE GARDENS OF THE SERAGLIO PALACE.

There may be sunshine streaming  
Within that garden fair ;  
There may be beauty beaming,  
Soft eyes and shining hair ;  
There may be laughter sounding  
Where echoes rise and sink ;  
There may be light steps bounding,  
Beside the fountain's brink :  
There may be music thrilling  
The youthful breast with glee,  
While the nightingale is filling  
The air with melody ;  
There may be songs of gladness—  
But ah ! there may be tears,  
And sighs of deepest sadness,  
Where all so bright appears.  
For woman's love was never  
A thing to buy and sell ;  
No, happier far, for ever,  
In solitude to dwell,  
Than share with all—with any,  
The fond approving smile ;  
But one amongst the many,  
To sport with for a while.  
Oh ! nobler far, and better,  
The humble matron's lot,  
Though thousand cares beset her,  
Within her lowly cot ;  
Though from her cheek the roses  
Of youth may all be gone,  
If on her truth reposes,  
A heart that loves but one.

'*The Juvenile Scrap Book*' contains its usual variety of prose and poetry, of essay, narrative, and fiction. It is a pleasing and instructive book of light reading, 'in which glimpses of thought and feeling' will occur to the young, which they will gladly recall in future life. The engravings, sixteen in number, are appropriate to the class for which the volume is designed, and the whole will constitute an agreeable and most welcome Christmas present.

The following stanzas form part of the poetic illustrations of a plate, descriptive of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth Castle:—

## 1.

I will not call thee happy,  
Queen of the prosperous reign!  
I will not wish those golden days  
Were ours to live again.  
For under waving banner,  
And under plumed crest,  
And under knighthood's glittering star,  
Was many an aching breast.

## 2.

I will not call thee happy,  
Though thousands called thee fair;  
And flattering tongues pronounce thee young,  
When age had blanched thy hair.  
I will not call thee happy,  
When beauty woke thy hate;  
Nor all the power of regal dower,  
Could make thee truly great.

## 3.

I will not call thee happy,  
Though wonderful thy skill  
To rule thy people wisely,  
And bend them to thy will;  
For one thing still was wanting,  
A faithful heart, and tried,  
To love thee for thyself alone,  
Without thy regal pride.

## 4.

'Tis thus I call her happy,  
Who wields the sceptre now,  
Who feels the bliss of childhood's kiss,  
Upon a mother's brow.

And long may she be happy,  
Who lives that woman's life,  
Beneath the splendour of a crown,  
A loved and honoured wife.

The last of the three volumes before us is a real addition to our Illustrated literature, and is deserving of much more permanent attention than falls to the lot of the class of Annuals. It was just the kind of book that was needed to meet the existing wants of the public mind, and is executed in so superior a style, whether regard be had to its pictorial illustrations or to its literary matter, as to render it fully worthy of the patronage it seeks. It is no ephemeral production, no mere hot-house plant, but combines the beautiful with the informing, to an extent not frequently attained. Hitherto, the Chinese people have been unknown to Europe; but it is not too much to say, that Mr. Allom's drawings will do more to familiarize us with the scenery of the country, the peculiar style of its architecture, its various arts, and even its social habits, than many of the bulky volumes which have been written on these topics. The character of the Chinese people is altogether unique. It has assumed a stereotyped form, repulsive to every foreign influence, and fatal to every inward tendency to improvement. To be understood, therefore, they must be studied by themselves. It is in vain to look at them through the medium of any other people, or to judge of their past history and present state by those laws which are applicable to European tribes. Hence the value of such a work as the present, which presents the people to us in all the striking peculiarities of their aspect, and thus renders the eye subservient to the clear apprehension of their mental isolation. To illustrate the scenery, customs, arts, manufactures, religious ceremonies, and political institutions of a people so unlike the rest of mankind, so attached to established usages, that they exemplify the manners of thousands of years back—so jealous of intrusion, that a foreigner has always been held by them in execration—is the special aim of the work; and the manner in which this is accomplished gives to it a high and permanent value. The engravings, amounting in number to thirty-two, are greatly diversified in subject, are thoroughly Chinese, and are executed in a style which reflects the highest credit on the artist. The editorial department is equally respectable, combining vivacity with information, and tale with history; so that we have rarely had so much pleasure in commending a work of this class, as we have in the present instance.



- Art. VII. 1. *Sir Robert Peel and his Era ; being a synoptical view of the chief events and measures of his Life and Time.* London : Cotes. 1843.
2. *The Opinions of Sir Robert Peel expressed in Parliament and in Public.* By W. T. Haly, Esq., of the Parliamentary Galleries. London : Whittaker. 1843.

THIS is emphatically the age of mediocrity. Time was when men could command pre-eminence by a superiority of knowledge or intellectual power, which distinguished them from the masses whom, as centres, they attracted around them. They gave their names to parties, and their laws to society, and the great movements which they conducted are perhaps more currently remembered by association with themselves, than even with the vast social results which they effected. All this seems to follow from a law of nature. The times make the men. Crises in national history occur, in which the ferment of the social ocean seems to throw up conspicuous objects to its surface, and to irradiate them with its phosphoric light ; while in calmer seasons the surface of affairs exhibits no striking object, and is only diversified by the ripple of ordinary occurrences. Neither of these states is barren of subjects of study to the philosophic student of man ; perhaps, indeed, the progress of sound philosophy, like that of commerce in a state of peace, is more sure and rapid in more quiet seasons, than amidst the turmoil of striking characters and unusual events. The present times, we say, are characterised by this quiescent mediocrity, and afford an excellent opportunity for the close observation and measurement of those leaders in public affairs who, in more exciting times, are only gazed at either with ignorant wonder, or with a sort of superstitious admiration.

Among those political leaders whom circumstances give us the opportunity of closely observing, Sir Robert Peel occupies an undoubted, though a gentle and almost imperceptible pre-eminence. Few men have ever been more powerful in some aspects, and more utterly weak in others. While, placed in a position to lead the popular mind of the country, he possesses but the slenderest hold on the deeper feelings of any class of the community ; and, while constituted by circumstances almost the autocrat of parliamentary parties, his precarious throne is constantly oscillating between the forces, extending through the entire legislature, of active opposition, uneasy toleration, and ill-concealed distrust.

Even amidst the peaceful mediocrity of the present times, the laws of aristocracy and caste still retain a powerful sway, yet, even in spite of these, Sir Robert Peel heads a powerful party,

and seldom fails of success in his political projects. We are informed in the witty columns of *The Examiner*, that this gentleman never had a grandfather; so that the late Sir Robert is the only instance we know, of a relative without an antecedent. Yet, in spite of this unfortunate abruptness in family history, this sudden *parvenu*, this *novus homo*, sways the deliberations of a feudal aristocracy, and exercises over the indigenous lords of the soil the force, without the formality, of law. For all this, it is worth while to attempt to account; and this we propose to do by a brief investigation of the personal and political history of Sir Robert Peel.

The fortunate circumstance to which we have already alluded spares us the trouble of going far back into historical research. The popular oracles of the Heralds' Office, and even of the baronetcy of England, preserve, with regard to Sir Robert Peel, a profound and respectful silence. We have the advantage of observing this curious and changeful phenomenon undisturbed by the cross-lights of their precarious and mystic information.

A father he unquestionably had:—a wealthy manufacturer who had the good fortune to bequeath to his children no ordinary opulence, and the good sense to possess them of a high and elaborate education. Sir Robert rubbed shoulders with Lord Byron at Harrow; and at Oxford he enjoyed the more enviable solitude of what is technically called the *double-first*. He entered, therefore, on parliamentary life with all the advantages which wealth, combined with the most elaborate education of his times, could confer.

From the first we observe one cardinal feature distinguishing the political character of our subject, which may be traced by a close examination through all the voluntary vicissitudes of his parliamentary career. This is the absence from his creed of all great commanding and sacred principles, to which the infinite diversity of particular opinions and measures might be at once referred, as to a decisive standard.

The want of this indispensable code of primary principles, these *magna moralia*, which are to the mind as the compass to the vessel, has been supplied, in the case of Sir Robert Peel, by a high degree of natural ingenuity, by the most bland and persuasive style of oratory, by a wonderful adaptation to public business; and perhaps, above all, by a boundless command of words, behind the thick mist of which, like the cuttle fish behind its inky excretion, he can generally reckon on a safe escape. No accumulation of qualities and resources can be imagined more dangerous than this to the public virtue of any individual. The temptations which it offers to integrity and ingenuousness are well nigh infinite. No one would compare,



for a moment, the flaccid, intellectual temperament of Peel with the robust and gladiatorial muscle and fibre of Pitt. The degree of their relative capacity for mischief (as, indeed, for good) is immeasurably disproportionate. Yet in one of the chief characteristics we have mentioned, they strongly resemble each other. It is said of Mr. Pitt, that every sentence of his more important parliamentary addresses contained a sort of loophole for his escape from every principle to which it apparently committed him; insomuch that the late Robert Hall declared that he had never listened to a speaker so dexterously dishonest. No one who has carefully acquainted himself with the oratory of Sir Robert can fail to be struck with his resemblance to his great predecessor in this particular respect. He affords, indeed, a rare illustration of the aphorism of the French diplomatist, 'that language was given to man to enable him to conceal his ideas.' The most practised students of his political dialect constantly fail to interpret him. His public dealings, even with his own party, seem to be determined by a principle, analogous to that which some misanthrope has laid down, touching our intercourse with our friends,—namely, that we should always act towards them with an eye to the possibility of our one day becoming enemies. Hence in reading his speeches, we look in vain for anything like honest and explicit statement, either of opinion or of purpose. We are perpetually lost in loose and indefinite generalities, until at length we give him up in despair, as a Proteus whom no chains can bind, and from whose enigmatical oracles no human ingenuity can extricate the truth.

In perfect harmony with this is another distinguishing feature of Sir Robert Peel's political and intellectual character. He is emphatically the apostle and high priest of expediency; and that an expediency not of a broad and comprehensive kind, the perception of which is the richest fruit of experience, and the aim of all true and practical philosophy, but a narrow and petty expediency, of which selfishness is not so truly the centre as the circumference,—based on no principle, limited to trivial circumstances, and fluctuating with the eddies and vicissitudes of party. His mind seems to shrink from the impression of all fundamental and essential considerations; from the slightest contact with those principles which, simple in themselves and intelligible to all, as appealing to their unsophisticated perceptions and their moral sense, constitute the legitimate, and, indeed, the only guides of human policy; and deserting their broad and wholesome light, he retires amidst the glimmerings of cunning foresight and petty probability. His treatment of every momentous question in the management of which he has



been concerned proves that he has neither the philosophic spirit, nor the moral courage, to view it upon ample and comprehensive grounds; but even, when legislating for the most vital interests of his country and the world, observes,—and that even in the greatest acts of his coerced and reluctant liberality,—a narrow, peddling style of behaviour, which would rob all concession of its grace, and beggar the dignity of the greatest occasion. To these causes, perhaps conjointly, may be traced the singular instability and fickleness which has marked the public course of Sir Robert Peel. Scarcely any man, Cobbett of course being always excepted, has ever more satisfactorily refuted himself, than the Right Honourable Baronet. Indeed, the extent of those changes which have passed upon the ostensible opinions of Sir Robert Peel can hardly be appreciated by any one who has not taken the trouble to review, as we have done, his speeches and writings, in a collective and consecutive form. This, however, as well as the two distinguishing traits of character which we have already noticed, we shall endeavour to verify by presenting a few passages, selected from his parliamentary speeches.

I. With respect, then, to the first characteristic which we have ascribed to Sir Robert Peel, namely, the absence of all fundamental principles from the structure of his political system, we will review,

1. His treatment of the ballot question. The argument in favor of this arrangement, admitted on all sides and universally notorious, is, that all persons in dependant circumstances are attacked in the exercise of a personal and indefeasible right, by intimidations of every kind on the part of those on whom they depend; owing to which they cannot exercise that right, or, as we might more properly term it, that duty, without either the violation of their conscience on the one part, or the most serious detriment to their outward circumstances on the other.

Now the possession by any party of a political right, and still more of a political privilege, involves the correlative duty of exercising it to the best of his judgment, and with perfect integrity. Unless these conditions can be fulfilled, the very position is a snare to his conscience and a curse to his fortunes. Hence the great, and almost the only argument for the protection of the vote by secrecy is, that if a man have the right to vote at all, that right involves another, namely, that of exercising it with freedom of conscience, and without necessary damage to his secular estate. These principles have ever been as fully understood by Sir Robert Peel as by any man living. Let us see how, with this perfect knowledge, he deals with the question. The first opinion that he ever pronounced upon the subject was stated

in March, 1828, in the debate on the Penryn disfranchisement bill.

‘I should have been astonished if the honorable member (Mr. Warburton) had attempted to introduce into this bill a proposition that votes should be given in secret. I trust I shall never see the day when that principle is applied to the electors of this country—when those electors will be so lowered in character, that they durst not state their objections openly to the candidate, and make known their reasons for openly voting against him.’—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 28.

Here is a fair specimen of Sir Robert Peel’s mode of dealing with the most important questions. Could the voter, with perfect safety to his own interests, publicly state the course he intended to adopt, and his reasons for adopting it, the sentiment of the speaker would have been perfectly just. But as the very reverse of this is the truth, the entire vital part of the question is passed over in silence, and the seemingly courageous sentiment which gains the cheers of a corrupt majority of the house is at best but a noisy and dexterous evasion. The same remarks apply to his observations upon a similar bill introduced in March, 1830.

‘I am sure,’ said he, ‘that such a principle, if adopted, would be productive of far greater abuses and of more hypocrisy than at present prevails; and I doubt that it would have the least effect in preventing bribery and corruption at elections. I greatly doubt whether the influence of the aristocracy will be diminished by adopting the vote by ballot; as the loud clamourer for reform might be more easily bribed under such a system than under the present.’—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 28.

The last sentence of the above extract is peculiarly characteristic. Sir Robert Peel will not be suspected, at least at this stage of his parliamentary course, of a desire to diminish the powers of the aristocracy; yet one of his arguments against the ballot is, that he ‘greatly doubts whether the influence of the aristocracy would be diminished by adopting the vote by ballot.’ Now suppose this were granted; what of that? The tendency of the proposed measure was to secure men from pains and penalties in the exercise of a universally admitted right. Here again, then, the entire *vitality* of the question is left untouched. At length, however, in April, 1833, Sir Robert Peel found himself under the necessity of giving his opinion in a debate upon a direct motion in favor of the ballot made by Mr. Grote. In so far as it is important to study his character, his conduct on this occasion affords a most useful lesson. He said:

‘One of the effects which the learned member (O’Connell) expects from the ballot is, that it will put an end to canvassing. Does the learned member consider that an improvement? Does he think it an improve-

ment, that after a man has been toiling for years in the service of his constituents, they should receive him with a dead langour and apathy, or that he should return among them with the same feeling? Does he consider it an improvement that a member should not have an opportunity of explaining his conduct to his constituents, or of asking them for a renewal of their confidence? For my own part, far from thinking that an improvement, I should consider it to be destructive of one of the strongest links between the represented and their representatives—one of the best securities for an honest discharge of their respective trusts. It is admitted that the ballot is nothing without secrecy. Now, I doubt whether it is possible to prevent the public functionaries employed in the elections from knowing how a man votes, and thus obtaining a great degree of influence over many men who will dread that the manner in which they vote shall become known. These functionaries will, in fact, become intolerable petty tyrants. In order that secrecy should be obtained, the machinery must be so complete that the functionaries shall remain as ignorant of the nature of a man's vote as any other person. All will allow that if vote by ballot is introduced, secrecy is indispensable to any chance of its successful operation. But do you think that the voters themselves will permanently conceal their votes? Can they, in the course of gossip with their neighbours, conceal them? Will it be possible that a man can conceal his vote from his wife? Where, then, is the secrecy? But suppose the secret inviolably kept—suppose that never, in any moment of conviviality and friendship, of confidential intercourse with a friend or relative, does a voter at a contested election divulge the vote he gives—what an abominable system must that be under which persons cannot discuss with their nearest relatives how they fulfilled, or meant to fulfil a *public trust*!—*Opinions of Sir Robert Peel*, pp. 28, 29.

It is difficult to perceive why so dexterous a political fencer as Sir Robert Peel should commit himself to the expression of so much disingenuousness as is indicated in these sentences amidst such abundant facilities for detection, and especially when he knew that his words would descend on parliamentary records to a time when his little feats of legerdemain would only be known through the garrulous traditions of the old. In the first paragraph he seeks to perpetuate all the corruptions of the canvass, on the ground that it is desirable that representatives should have an opportunity of explaining their public conduct to their constituents, as if there were not abundant occasions for such explanations in the intervals of elections; or as if, indeed, such opportunities might not be at any time obtained by a simple requisition. Our only alternative is, to suppose that he sets a supreme value on the transient cordiality of shaking hands with a chimney sweeper, and pathetically inquiring after the health of his family, and (of course for the purpose of a parliamentary return) respecting the number of 'innocent blacknesses' in his employ.



The grand argument in the second paragraph is still more delusive and absurd. He commences by doubting the perfect mechanical secrecy of the ballot; an exception which would seem to imply that if the mere machinery could be brought to perfection, the chief animus of his hostility would be destroyed. Let government only offer a premium of one hundred pounds, confining the competition to journeymen carpenters, for the perfecting of the mere mechanical arrangement, and we will engage that this particular folly of Sir Robert Peel will not be repeated in our parliamentary debates. But his doubts appear to extend beyond the mere machinery of the ballot. 'But suppose,' says he, 'the secret inviolably kept. What an abominable system must that be under which persons cannot discuss with their nearest relatives how they fulfilled, or meant to fulfil a public trust.' The sophism involved in this argument is almost too bald to need a formal detection. The 'abominable system' referred to is not one under which a man *cannot disclose* his past or his intended vote; but only one which will secure him from the absolute necessity of such a disclosure when it would be destructive of the dearest interests of his life.

But Sir Robert further treats of the franchise as a 'public trust.' This is one of those absurdities which need a more careful exposure. The House of Commons is theoretically supposed to be the representation of the entire nation; insomuch that those who do not possess the right of suffrage are supposed, by a sort of constitutional fiction, to be indirectly represented. Now the nature of a trust involves the necessity of two parties, the one committing, and the other executing it. Where, then, in this case, are we to look for the *entrustors*? To look for them in the Legislature would be absurd; inasmuch as that body is solely composed of the representatives of the alleged trustees; while the unrepresented classes have certainly never had the power to appoint, and have never indeed been consulted for one moment on the subject. The only conclusion must be that the representative body made themselves trustees *by vesting the trust in themselves*,—a conclusion involving some slight difficulties, which it would become Sir Robert Peel, and the statesmen who hold similar language, most gravely to consider. When they have shown that the popular right of appointing legislators is a trust, their next duty will be to prove that the universal functions of respiration and digestion are held in commission under the crown, and that the laws affecting the secretion of bile should be determined by the Privy Council.

But the entire crudeness and folly of Sir Robert Peel's arguments upon this subject remain to be more fully developed. In

continuance of the error we have already exposed, we find the following, published two years afterwards. In the debate on Mr. Grote's motion for the adoption of the ballot, in June, 1835, we find that Sir Robert's blunders have grown to the stature of the following absurdity:—'The advocates of the ballot propose to confine it to the constituency; but why I know not. What is the difference, in point of principle, between the functions of the constituent body and the functions which the representatives of that constituent body are called upon to exercise? I, for my own part, can see no reason why, if the ballot be considered good for the constituents, it should not also for the representatives, and why the ballot should not be introduced into the House of Commons.' It is difficult to determine whether Sir Robert Peel was really incompetent to perceive the difference between these two cases, or whether he was insolently trifling with the common sense of the House. The reply to his argument will probably at once occur to the mind of every reader, namely, that as the people at large, in voting, are *de facto* legislating for their own interests, each has a right to vote as he may think fit, and an equal right to keep his own counsel; whereas, the representative legislating for the interests of others, his constituents have a right to judge of his fitness for office by the tenor of his public conduct. Hence the propriety of secret voting, on the part of constituents, and the necessity of open voting, on the part of representatives.

Three years more appear to have made a surprising difference for the worse in Sir Robert Peel's mode of viewing this question. In 1838, he got to the anti-national character of ballot. We hope that he originated this argument. It would be a consolation to our patriotism to know that in this expanse of folly he stood alone, and

'Had not his fellow in the firmament.'

He said—

'It is a system totally at variance with all the institutions, usages, and feelings of the people of this country—with all the maxims which have taught them to believe that free discussion, that publicity, that the light of day, that public opinion, are the great checks upon abuse. The people have been *habituated* to canvassing at elections, to the solicitations of promises, to all the activity, and all the *artifices*, by which, at a contested election, one party seeks to gain a superiority over another. Every voter's inclination and intentions are known. There is no neutrality; scarcely an instance in which a vote is reserved until the day of election. *This may be right, or it may be wrong*; but it is the inveterate usage of the country: and all this you hope to counteract by a small piece of cunning machinery,—by Mr. Green's or Mr. Grote's ballot-box.'—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 30.

It is difficult fully to develope the childish silliness of this argument without incurring the charge of levity and caricature. As well might he say, 'The people of this country have been habituated to cock fighting on Shrove Tuesday, to periodical and fatal prize fights, to bull baiting on the Feast of the Epiphany, to punch and bank-notes at contested elections, and to Athanasian creeds and nocturnal debauches on Good Friday! All this may be right, or it may be wrong; but it is the inveterate usage of the country; and all this you hope to counteract by a small piece of cunning machinery!!'

Such is a fair specimen of the manner in which Sir Robert Peel treats the most important subjects, studiously avoiding all cardinal and vital considerations; fixing invariably upon some disputable, but unimportant point; and by a feigned earnestness of manner and diction creating a diversion towards them, just as some birds sitting on the ground, at a distance from their nests, make the most vociferous pretences of alarm, in order to withdraw the attention of the depredator from the spot at which alone any real danger is to be apprehended.

In proportion to the momentous character of the subject, this peculiarity of tactics becomes increasingly remarkable. Upon so vital a topic as the connexion between the interests of religion and the functions of the Legislature, one might naturally have expected from a statesman the utmost distinctness, decision, and earnestness. Let us listen to the vague and enigmatic oracle of Sir Robert Peel:—

'It has been asked of us, what has the State to do with religion?—and why does it interfere with the direction of men's consciences? The State, I am ready to grant, has no concern with religion, when religion has no concern with the State. But in making laws to govern this moral and religious country, am I to exclude from my notice all considerations of religion? Am I to be told that I am not to meddle with any measures that are not calculated to affect men's consciences? Am I to be informed that such interference is unnecessary, or that it has never been previously exercised? If so, how stands the fact in reference to the past? Is it from the pages of English history, that honourable gentlemen glean their information, or from those of Scotland, or those of Ireland?—or, last of all, from those of the three constituent parts of the empire collectively? Where is it that they find, that among the motives which influence men as political members of society, religion is not one?'

Such is Sir Robert Peel's mode of dealing with one of the most interesting and urgent questions upon which the mind of a Christian or a statesman can be engaged. For our own part, we candidly confess, that to us it is utterly unintelligible: and probably, in this confession, we are giving the right honourable



baronet the very triumph which he contemplated. The question is, What has the State, as such, to do with religion, and what right has it to interfere with the direction of men's consciences? Or, as it might more rationally be put, What right has it to *attempt* the coercion of conscience?—inasmuch as the connexion between legislative enactments and conscientious conviction, is very similar to that which subsists between Tenterden steeple and the Goodwin Sands. Indeed the problem, 'How far do the acts of a legislature affect the conscientious convictions of individuals?' seems to be dependant on the solution of a previous question,—How far is it from the first of May to the foot of London-bridge?

But let us notice his reply. 'In making laws,' says he, 'to govern this moral and religious country, am I to exclude from my notice all considerations of religion?' Now let the reader discover, if he can, the slightest shadow of a connexion between the question which this singular reasoner proposes to himself, and the answer with which he meets it. What imaginable connexion is there between a legislator's entertaining 'considerations of religion,' and his attempting to coerce by law the consciences of his fellow-men? If there is any relation between the two cases, it is one not of connection but of repulsion. We know indeed, to our cost, how important it is that our legislators should be possessed by considerations of religion, but unfortunately for Sir Robert's argument, we know also that those who have been most deeply affected by religious considerations have been the most devotedly opposed to that 'direction of men's consciences' which constitutes the very essence and virus of persecution. 'Am I to be informed,' he adds, 'that such interference is unnecessary, or that it has never been previously exercised? If so, how stands the fact with reference to the past? It is really difficult to command either sufficient patience or sufficient simplicity of explanation to develop the utter absurdity of such reasoning as this. Let us apply it, in supposition, to a somewhat ulterior case. Are we to be informed that it is unnecessary to imprison and torture those who differ from us in theological opinions?—to confiscate their property, to burn them at the stake, to mangle them on the rack, or to roast them before slow fires. Are we to be informed that this discipline 'has never been previously exercised? If so, how stands the fact in reference to the past?' It may indeed be quite of a piece with the Peel ethics to inquire whether any course of conduct is necessary instead of whether it is just; but to appeal on such a question as this from the illumination of the present age to the barbarous precedents of the past is a folly for which we could scarcely give Sir Robert credit, but for the evidence of the authentic and evidently approving chronicle which lies before us.

In further illustration of the charge we are venturing to make, namely, the absence of all comprehensive and fundamental principles from the political system of Sir Robert Peel, we find the following passages on almost the next page of the work from which we are quoting :

‘What is the situation of the church with respect to this House? I beg the house to recollect that, by act of parliament, (with the policy of which I am far from finding fault,) the clergy are prevented from having a voice in this house; that the ancient assembly through which they were accustomed to deliver their opinions (the convocation) has fallen into disuse; and that it is therefore but just that peculiar caution should be used in attacking the rights of men who have no organs through which to defend themselves’\*

And again on the ‘sacred character’ of church property.

‘The honorable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) has objected to the use of the words ‘most sacred’ as descriptive of the property of the church. Perhaps there may be some difficulty in such an application of the words, but at any rate there are peculiarities in the property of the church which distinguish it above all property that ranks as secular. It is set apart for the support of the ministers of religion; and although I will not insist on this point, the house must be so far aware of the importance of religious instruction, as to respect the maintenance of those who impart it.’†

A brief analysis of these passages would be almost sufficient of itself to demonstrate the position we are seeking to establish. In the former passage the first objection appears to be, that especial protection is due to a certain body, on the ground that they are debarred from a seat in parliament, that body having, however, their direct representation as constituents. Thus far the argument would seem to be fair and just; but let us refer it back to the principle, which the speaker, as usual, refrains from stating. If any special regard should be had to the interests of those who are only precluded from a seat in the House of Commons, though represented there, and by their highest officers in the House of Peers, what are we to say of the case of those who are debarred by the smallness of their property not only from seats in parliament, but from the slightest voice or influence in the representation itself? and these, too, men whose *all* is at stake in every political measure that affects them—a fact which is any thing but true with the clergy. If the Right Honorable Baronet views with so much tenderness the interest of those whose sole disqualification is for the representation of their fellow-subjects,

\* Church Establishments in Jamaica, Mr. Hume’s Motion, March 4, 1823.

† Tithe Law Amendment Bill, March 16, 1818.

with what absorbing concern must he contemplate the condition of those who have no part nor lot in the legislature, even as constituents! Surely his first concern must be *a fortiori* to endow with the most elementary political rights those who have not the slight interest, direct or indirect, in the enactment of those laws to which they are so rigorously coerced into obedience. Is this the political system of Sir Robert Peel. If not, what becomes of his argument, and what are we to think of his principle?

But there is another most pregnant phrase in the same passage, which involves a still more serious inference. 'It is therefore but just, that peculiar caution should be used in attacking the rights of men, who have no organs through which to defend themselves.' What! caution in attacking *rights*. Has then the system of politics merely become a *latrocinium*, in which, caution alone is necessary, in the perpetration of wrong. If then the invasion of the most sacred rights, is but prudently and diplomatically managed, it will meet with Sir R. Peel's entire approbation! Can this be what he means? Yet, if this is not the *animus* of this sentence, we beg to ask what is.

And then, with regard to the second quotation we have made, the argument seems to be, that there is a peculiar character of sacredness attaching to church property, which distinguishes it from that which the secular possessor claims as his own. Now let us examine for a moment, the principle involved in these two cases. The tenure of secular property, indeed, ultimately resolves itself into that universally admitted law of prescription, which forms the main economical distinction between civilized and savage society. This, therefore, in such a country as ours, is essential and fundamental. Any interference with it, would obviously occasion universal anarchy; and, were such interference to occur, no man would be able to call anything his own. But, how stands the case with ecclesiastical property. This, for the most part, has been transferred through the medium of the legislature, that is, by a constitutional fiction, by the people of this country, from one denomination of professing christians to another. The right of tenure in this matter, disguise it as we may, depends upon the right to make this transfer. If it might be made once, it may be made a second time; and hence, ecclesiastical property, is clearly and *de facto*, national property;—in other words, it may be dealt with by parliament at its will. Here then lies the cardinal distinction, between ecclesiastical and secular property, that, in so far as parliament has the prescriptive and constitutional right to alienate the former, its possessors can only claim, at the utmost, a life interest; whereas, the latter cannot be interfered with without destroying



the very foundations of social security. The term sacred, as applied to church property, derives its force only from the purposes to which such property is supposed to be applied; and, that imposing term is obviously a mere bugbear, unless it can be shown that such purposes cannot possibly be accomplished by other and equally suitable means. We affirm that this can be done, and that it is done every day, that it ever has been done in the purest ages of the christian church, and that true religion extends and ever has extended its empire in the world, in proportion as its advocates have repudiated the principle, slyly assumed by Sir Robert Peel,—the sacredness of ecclesiastical property.

We might multiply, almost without limits, the proofs we are adducing of our first position, namely, the repudiation by Sir Robert Peel, of all comprehensive principles from his political theory. But we will now turn to the second distinguishing feature in it, which we have proposed to develope, and which, naturally, grows out of the first. We refer to the invariable tendency of his mind, to consult the suggestions of mere expediency, in preference to the dictates of right and justice. The first illustration of this, presented by the digest of his political opinions now before us, has reference to the subject of ecclesiastical property which we have just dismissed. Notwithstanding the stringency of his views, with respect to the sacredness of ecclesiastical property, we find him, in February 1839, adopting the following language in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenue Bill:—

‘ I consider the *policy* of making a different distribution of church property, entirely depends on the *animus* with which it is introduced, and the objects for which the distribution is proposed. While, therefore, I shall give to any project for the diversion of one single shilling of church property, to other than strictly spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes, my most decided opposition, still, if a measure were proposed, which in my conscience I believed was intended to add to the efficiency of the church, and which appropriated every shilling of property re-distributed to purposes connected with the spiritual interests of the establishment, I can only say I am not prepared to reject such a measure, simply on the ground, that no corporate property of the church ought to be interfered with. I would not allow the objection of inviolability, to countervail the admitted *advantage*, that would arise from re-distribution.’—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, pp. 91, 92.

Here there appears indeed to be a refinement, even on the doctrine of expediency itself; for, it is not the policy of any proposed re-distribution of church property which he seems to consider, but, only the *intention* with which such a proposal is made. On this showing, it would seem, that the wildest proposition of

Mr. Percival, Sir Andrew Agnew, or even of Colonel Sibthorpe, would meet with this statesman's approbation, if it only contemplated the aggrandizement of the church. We have long been accustomed to consider, that the spirit of party grows out of the doctrine of expediency, but we have never yet met with quite so appropriate an illustration as is here afforded us, on the authority of Sir R. Peel.

After what has been said upon the tenure of ecclesiastical property, the following passage may supply another illustration:—

*'Of this I am sure, that, on any principles on which parliament can wisely act, they cannot interfere with the property of the church; for they cannot touch it without weakening the confidence in private property.'*\*

It appears then, that the method of supporting the christian religion designed by its infallible Founder, is by no means a matter for consideration; that the question of the obligation resting on the Irish people, to whom particular reference is made, to support a religious system which they regard as erroneous, is to pass altogether from the account; and, that the whole question is to turn upon some indefinite risk to private property, supposed to be concurrent with certain alterations in the distribution of ecclesiastical revenues. Again, on the same subject we find another dictum to the same effect, headed by the editor, 'Effects of Catholicism on Governments.'

*'I do not desire to consider this point as I find it illustrated in ancient councils, or in times when bigotry and superstition were prevalent throughout the world; but, I would view the effect of the catholic religion, as it exists at the present day in various countries;—in some where it luxuriates in undisputed growth; in some where it is only struggling for a supremacy; and, in others, where it is subordinate to another and a purer system. Under these different aspects I have contemplated the catholic religion, and the result of my observation and investigation is, that it is expedient to maintain in this kingdom, the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance, of the protestant church.'*—*Opinions of Sir R. Peel*, p. 93.

There is a coolness in this method of superseding all the claims of justice, shelving the whole question of principle, and seating oneself on the bench to judge in one's own case, which is perfectly matchless. A large community who differ from us in certain points of theological opinion, or, as perhaps we might more correctly say, from whom we differ, claim to be placed on the level of political equality as subjects, notwithstanding these diversities of creed; they plead that they are as loyal, as honest, as intelligent, as their protestant fellow-subjects; they contribute

\* *'Church Establishments in Ireland.'*—Mr. Hume's motion, March 4, 1823.

equally, both to the maintenance and defence of their country, and they protest against being degraded on account of any speculative opinions they may hold, into a condition of inequality and subordination. The reply of Sir Robert to this appeal is most extraordinary, he virtually says, 'I have observed many countries, and cast my eye over different periods of time, and the result of my observations is, that it really would be much better that you should be kept where you are.' It is well for the reputation of the man who uttered these sentences, that he was also the author of the New Police force, else it might have been suspected that he had been retained as a special pleader for the 'swell mob.' We can imagine one of that interesting class, while seizing a banker's parcel, with his pistol at the head of the travelling clerk, philosophising in a similar strain, 'I have observed banking business in a variety of phases, in private, branch, and joint-stock banks. I have seen it in circumstances of comparative difficulty, and in seasons of ample and complete success, and the result of my observation and investigation is, that it is expedient to maintain over this branch of business, the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance of the swell mob.' We will select a few more passages from Sir Robert Peel's parliamentary addresses, in further illustration of this unprincipled devotion to mere expediency.

'Votes of Catholics in Irish Vestries.—If Roman Catholics are permitted to vote at vestries, I foresee it must be productive of the most endless confusion in that country, and that it will lead to the destruction of the peace and goodwill now so happily prevailing.\*

'To admit a thousand catholics to be on a level with twelve protestants, in parishes where the population is so unequally divided, between the two religions, would be to make the church establishment of Ireland a mere mockery.†

On the subject of Church Rates, Sir Robert's ethics are particularly profound. 'When,' says he, 'the honourable member for Leeds, (Mr. Baines,) says, that he hopes there will be an end to all imprisonment for the non-payment of church rates, I am afraid I cannot concur in that hope; for, if a demand be made in pursuance of the law of the land, and there is a refusal to pay that demand, it will be impossible to determine whether that refusal arises from conscientious feeling or from contumacy . . . whilst the law remains the same, authorising the imposition, I see no alternative but to obey the law; and, if parties refuse that obedience, they must take

\* Mr. O'Connell's motion to amend the Irish Vestry Laws, April 27, 1830.

† Debate on same subject, June 10, 1830.



the consequence, otherwise there will be a dissolution of the bonds of society.'—*Case of John Thorogood*, July 24, 1840.\*

Unquestionably, the best method of testing the accuracy of a general principle, is to apply it to an extreme case. We will suppose then, the law which Sir Robert is for enforcing, to be, that every man should be impaled and burnt, who does not recant the protestant faith, and profess his adherence, either to puseyism or popery, at his option. To such a case the principle of Sir Robert manifestly applies; and, we can imagine him saying, with his bland smile and urbane air, over his box on the table of the House of Commons, 'if this demand be made in pursuance of the law of the land, and there is a refusal to comply with that demand, it will be impossible to determine whether that refusal arises from conscientious feeling or from contumacy. Whilst the law remains, I see no alternative but to obey it, and, if parties refuse that obedience, they must *take the consequence*, otherwise there would be a dissolution of the bonds of society.'

Sir Robert Peel has devoted a large portion of his political life, to the reform of our system of criminal jurisprudence. We are far from wishing to detract from the acknowledged merit of his efforts in this direction; yet, we confess, that when we compare the benefits which he has thus conferred, with the principles, if principles they may be called, on which he has proceeded, we are strongly reminded of Pharaoh and Cyrus; and, are really smitten with wonder, at the unlikeliness of the instruments by which the best objects are effected. In noticing, for example, the atrocious proposal of punishing prisoners before their trial, he adopts the following language:—

'If the application of the treadmill before trial be not illegal, it is at all events decidedly impolitic. The chief benefit of its discipline is, that it inflicts a stigma, a disgrace, and a moral punishment which would be lost were it used before trial. Upon a principle of justice, therefore, as well as expediency, I think the punishment of the treadmill ought not to be inflicted before trial; I have not a moment's doubt upon the subject.'—*Debate on a Petition*, Feb. 12, 1824.

\* The Editor of the 'Opinions of Sir Robert Peel' states, in a foot note upon this passage, that John Thorogood, of Bungay, Essex, was imprisoned for a very considerable period, for non-payment of church rates. We fear, that Sir Robert too much resembles his chronicler in his ignorance of all that relates to dissenters. Our editor here is singularly prolific of blunders. Mr. Thorogood never lived at Bungay. Bungay never was in Essex, and the prisoner never was confined for non-payment of church rates, but for contempt of court. These mistakes, however, are not confined to those who record the sayings of statesmen. It is a fact, that a late dissenting minister, when introducing to a late Premier a deputation to which he belonged, as Dissenters, was met with the following reply: 'Oh! let me understand—dissenters, I believe, are those who deny the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ!!'

This looks a little like what Lord Bacon calls, an '*experimentum crucis*.' Every man by the law of this country, no less than by that of reason and justice, is supposed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. An innocent man then is placed in custody to await his trial, and, the question is, whether in the interim he should be subjected to punishment and torture. Sir Robert thinks that such a course, if not *illegal*, is at all events *decidedly impolitic*. These are the terms in which he opposes one of the most tyrannical and enormous outrages which can be committed against the rights of men. Surely, it may well admit of a question, whether the most violent language which can be dictated by the wounded and disappointed love of freedom, is as reprehensible as this, 'not so, my sons, not so,' from the patriarch of Toryism, to a rebellious and wanton offspring.

But, perhaps, one of the most striking instances of the 'splendid mendacity' of Sir Robert, in his devotion to mere expediency, is to be found in his treatment of the claims of dissenters, with respect to the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. He argues on Lord J. Russell's motion for repeal, Feb. 26, 1828:—

'Should we enact them now,' is not in my opinion by any means a fair mode of viewing the question. Whether we should or should not enact such laws in modern times, is not the test by which to judge of the propriety of repealing laws in an ancient monarchy like this, where manners and customs may often have grown up and become interwoven with the laws. I think that the proper question is, Is there that great practical grievance, is there that insult resulting to the dissenters from these acts, that calls upon the House to repeal them?'

And, again, in the same address—

'It is not at all clear to me, that the dissenters would gain what they expect by the repeal of these acts. If they excite suspicion and dislike, will they not, as far as the alteration goes, do mischief? The fact is, that the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the protestant established church. A preponderance of some sort will be admitted on all hands to be necessary, and the present is as slight a one as can well be imagined.'

It will scarcely be necessary to do more, than simply develop the argument of our prime minister on this important topic. By casting his eye back to the quotation, the reader will see for himself, whether we are guilty of misrepresentation. The case is simply this, that the most respectable men are excluded from offices of public usefulness and emolument, because they differ from the established sect, on some points of religious belief. Sir Robert Peel's argument, in favour of the continuance of this exclusion, takes the following form: first, that under an ancient

monarchical system like ours, wrongs and grievances must be permitted, which under any other system, would be utterly intolerable; and this argument is connected, be it remembered, with an advocacy of that monarchical system. Secondly, that under such a system, practical grievances may obtain, but until they reach the pitch of flagrant insult, it does not become the House of Commons to take them into its consideration. Thirdly, that there is a sufficient reason for abstaining from all remedial legislation on such points, if it appears to Sir Robert Peel as improbable, that the aggrieved party will gain all that they expect from the repeal of obnoxious and oppressive acts; and, lastly, that the preponderance of the oppressive party is merely nominal, that some preponderance must be admitted as a matter of course; and, that that preponderance was, under the then existing circumstances, as slight as could well be imagined.

This last argument then appears to be, first, that unless an oppressed party demand their whole rights, they are entitled to no redress whatever; secondly, that that system which degrades a large body of conscientious and excellent men, as heretics and scismatics, is but a nominal affair; and, lastly, that the exclusion of such men from all posts of public service and emolument, is the mildest distinction that can well be imagined.

Such is the system of political ethics adopted by Sir Robert Peel. We might multiply to an almost indefinite extent, illustrations of a similar kind, but we have not chosen to interrupt the series of quotations, taken almost at random from the work before us, in proof of our position that 'expediency is the grinding law of his political system.' Instead, however, of multiplying examples, we will refer back 'by way of digression' to a single principle, the exposition of which has been cited above. We refer to the rule as laid down in the matter of church rates, with reference to the duty of subjects to obey the existing laws of their country. We should not deem it necessary to recur to this subject, but for the very erroneous opinions which, as we conceive, prevail most extensively amongst the professed advocates of religious freedom. It is very generally maintained, both in and out of parliament, that the established religion of this country should be maintained by the pecuniary support of all, whether belonging to or dissenting from its religious tenets, on the ground that the law of the land enforces such support; and that the authority of such law should be paramount amongst all christian communities. We think that it becomes the christian world at large to give their most serious attention to this principle. It has long been the fashion to regard abstract principles of right or wrong as altogether inadmissible to the courts, both of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The lofty, we



might almost say, unequalled genius of Mr. Burke, has stamped a current and nominal value on this fiction, which it by no means deserves. The vulgar have come to regard it as a sort of text of political scripture; or rather, perhaps, with that selfish awe with which those contemplate a piece of bank paper, who have been deluded by the declaration of an eminent statesman, that a one pound note and a shilling are to all intents and purposes equivalent to a guinea. Mr. Burke indeed tells us, that abstract principles of right applied to the concerns of civil society, are like rays of light penetrating into a dense medium, which become refracted from their own original direction; and, under the shadow of Mr. Burke's genius, many no doubt have taken up with the philosophy of existing laws, and deemed all national innovation as little less than profane. But in this matter it becomes the servants of Christ to recollect, that they are placed under two systems of law, to each of which they owe a suitable and proportionate obedience. A certain denomination of professing christians is established among us, supported by the patronage of government, and the authority of law. Under this system, doctrines are formally propounded which we regard as hostile to the dictates of the religion of Christ. The problem we have to solve is simply this: are we to obey the government, existing *pro tempore*, or that authority which existed under supreme sanction, before our little policy was even predicted; and which will exist in undiminished force when our very history shall have been transmuted into tradition. Are we, in a word, to obey the eternal truth of God, or to conform to the shifting expedients of men. In this dilemma, we have at least the precedent of the inspired apostles. If the dictum of Sir R. Peel is deserving of even a transient thought, the inspired apostles were wrong; they were guilty of a seditious violation of the law, and set the example of impious insubordination to all their successors in the christian faith. We may say, without irreverence, that the position of the inspired apostles was precisely similar to that of conscientious dissenters of the present day. The pagan forms of hostility to the christian religion stood in their way, backed by the power of imperial Rome; and before us stands a system of spurious christianity, with its baptismal regeneration, its apostolical succession, its confirmation and absolution, its creeds and formularies, scarcely less opposed to the revealed will of God. The question is now what it was then—Will you support by your contribution, your subscription, or any other form of adhesion, what you regard as directly opposed to the revealed will of God? Sir Robert Peel says, at all hazards obey the law of the land; we say, 'whether it is right to obey God or men, judge ye.'

The question respecting the duties of dissenters, in reference

to the pecuniary support of the established church, is of so very simple a kind, that any difference of opinion with regard to it, especially in the minds of christian men, becomes a matter of mere astonishment. Such men admit it to be their highest duty to propagate the pure truth of the gospel, and not only to refuse their support, but to offer their utmost resistance to all systems of opinion which are inconsistent with that truth. Such persons hold as the most sacred and fundamental doctrine of their faith, that mankind can only be saved by repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; whereas the Anglican church teaches, that unconscious infants are regenerated by baptism, that in that rite they are made 'members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.'

Such men believe, that the scriptures contain the whole and only rule of christian faith and practice; that every innovation upon the pure model which they exhibit, is a profanity and a sacrilege; and, that every man is bound to search them for himself, to submit his conscience to no earthly dominion whatever, but individually to 'prove all things' and to 'hold fast that which is good.' The Anglican church, on the contrary, teaches, that a certain existing body of men 'has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to decide in controversies of faith.'

Such persons believe again, that it is the duty of every one who [receives the invitation of the gospel, to repeat it; and if moved to such a course by solemn conviction, or summoned to it by the voice of a christian community, to devote himself to the functions of the ministry. The Anglican church, on the contrary, denounces all religious teachers, as unauthorized and presumptuous, who undertake these functions without the imposition of the hands of a bishop, who has descended in a direct line from the inspired apostles—probably, the grossest historical blunder and philosophical absurdity which was ever palmed upon the world.

Such persons further believe, that saving faith in Christ has respect solely to the general and comprehensive revelation of the gospel, touching his nature and his work, without penetrating that sacred veil of mystery, which shrouds from all created intelligence the ultimate secret of the divine existence. The Anglican church, on the contrary teaches, that every person 'without doubt shall perish everlastingly' who does not hold, that 'the Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding;' and, that 'our Lord Jesus Christ is one, not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person!' 'This,' says the Anglican church, 'is the catholic faith, which, except every one

do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly !!'

It is unnecessary to enumerate further what we consider to be the vital errors held by the established church of this country. We have cited some which appear to us to attack the very vitals of the Christian religion. Can it be a question with one who is well instructed in the truth of the gospel, jealous for its integrity, and solicitous for its extension, whether he should contribute to the propagation of such dangerous errors as have just been indicated? Would not this be to scatter poisons with one hand, and to proffer antidotes with the other? And if the claims of God are paramount to the authority of man, and the duty of allegiance to him far more binding than the conventional proprieties of human politics, we cannot imagine any man who holds those principles which we have here assumed, supporting by any means, direct or indirect, the pernicious doctrines to which they stand opposed. To plead in excuse that we are bound to obey existing laws, is at once and deliberately to postpone the authority of God to that of man, and would necessarily involve the co-operation of those who hold it in a *legal* effort to extirpate Christianity itself from the world. On the other hand, those who protest against these principles, but still contribute to their propagation, because that course is prescribed by law, and excuse themselves under the plea that while they feel bound to obey the law as it exists, they are doing their best to secure its repeal, incur a practical absurdity of a kind, if possible, still more flagrant. They allow the legislature to fix them in this dilemma: 'You cannot pretend that your conscience forbids you thus to support the hierarchy because, in defiance of such scruples, you do so every day; while, on the other hand, your objection, if only of a political or economical nature, we must treat as we should a peculiar antipathy to assessed taxes, or an irresistible passion for smuggling.' It appears to us most evident that the only ground on which dissenters can consistently oppose ecclesiastical imposts is the ground of conscience, and that the only way of making such an objection intelligible to others is religiously and unswervingly to act upon it.

From this digression we return to Sir Robert Peel, and will seek to develope, on concluding this article, those inconsistencies in his political theory and conduct which appear to us to spring out of the radical defects to which we have referred. In doing so, but few explanatory observations of our own will be necessary. We have only to place Sir Robert against Sir Robert, and to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. And first, to begin with a subject more nearly connected with protestant dissenters, the repeal of the corporation and test acts. It will be



observed that this was a question not of policy, but of principle; not one in which shifting circumstances could alter cases, and thus justify a change of legislative conduct. The claims of dissenters to the repeal of the corporation and test acts depended on principles which no time and no circumstances could alter, which existed long before the family of Sir Robert were distinguishable from the 'Timkins and Stumpses', and which will remain when he is forgotten.

We will first offer a few specimens of the grounds on which he opposed that bill; and secondly, of the grounds on which he passed it.

'I think that the proper question is, Is there that great practical grievance—is there that insult resulting to the dissenters from these acts, that calls upon the house to repeal them? Is there anything so absurd in these tests as to make the repeal of them necessary? Or are they of such a nature that, if repealed, the dissenters will be in a better situation? Nothing in the whole course of this debate has surprised me more than the *enlarged, and I think aggravated* account of the practical grievances which these acts impose on the dissenters. I can only say, that so great is my respect for that large and respectable body denominated protestant dissenters, that if I could be satisfied they really labour under such grievances as have been described, I should be *very strongly induced* to vote for the repeal of the acts complained of. But I do not think that the great body of the dissenters look at them, together with the indemnity act, as so great an evil as honorable gentlemen have described.'

Again :

'It is not at all clear to me that the dissenters would gain what they expect by the repeal of these acts. If they excite suspicion and dislike, will they not, as far as the alteration goes, do mischief? The fact is, that the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the protestant established church. A preponderance of some sort will be admitted, on all hands, to be necessary, and the present is as slight a one as can well be imagined. Therefore, sir, I confess I am sorry that I am called on to vote upon the question, and heartily wish it had been allowed to remain quiescent—practically offensive, as I am convinced it is, to no one.'

These sentiments were delivered to the legislature of the country on the 26th of February, 1828. We have already explained that the case of the dissenters was unalterable by the lapse of time, and the mutation of party events. Let us now listen to the words of Sir Robert Peel after an unimportant interval of thirty-six days.

'I did not think, nor did I state that such a test as the Act imposed was *necessary*, but I said that the Act was *the less severe*, by the operation of the Annual Indemnity Bill—a

measure, it will be recollected, which recognised the conduct of dissenters as illegal, and which yet pardoned it as right. Now let us examine Sir Robert Peel's apology.

'When, however, I saw that a large majority of the House was favourable to repeal, I had TO DEAL WITH A NEW QUESTION,—whether it was better to continue the Act, or go on with Repeal; and in these new circumstances I was at liberty to act as they demanded, and I did, from that time, co-operate; and nothing that has been said has been sufficient to convince me that I took a wrong view of the case. Many persons intimated to me, that if any opposition was continued on the part of the government, it would tend to the increase of the majorities, and it was suggested that it would be BETTER NOT TO OPPOSE IT. I do not doubt that the majorities would have increased; but it was no fear of such increase that induced me to give the measure my support. I did so because, after the decided opinion of the House, I thought it would be unwise to agitate the question of a solemn sacramental test, or to impose that ON UNWILLING PARTIES which, if taken from unworthy motives, would involve guilt of the most enormous kind. After the decision of the House, I did think that the time had arrived for ABROGATING THE TEST ALTOGETHER.'

About three years and a half from the date of this speech we find Sir Robert Peel thus palliating his past and vindicating his present inconsistency: 'I did not undertake, as a minister, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. As a minister of the Crown I opposed it, and I was beaten. When the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) brought forward the question the ministers were left in a minority; and having been so left, I did not make any attempt to deprive the noble lord of the honour due to his success; but convinced after what occurred, that something must be done towards the settlement of the question, I privately and unostentatiously laboured all in my power to effect an amicable settlement'—that is, the repeal of the obnoxious laws altogether.\*

We can only glance at the evidences of this inconsistency as indicated in Sir Robert Peel's treatment of the Catholic claims. Of this subject, as on that of the Test and Corporation Acts, we may affirm, that it rested on settled principles that no modern events had occurred which could possibly interfere with the right or wrong of the principle, while the oracle of past history had long been irrevocable. Let us examine, then, the opinions and the conduct of this statesman with respect to the political disabilities of the Catholics. On Mr. Grattan's motion for a committee on the Catholic claims in March, 1813, we find Sir Robert adopting the following argument:—

'The right honourable gentleman proposes to open the House of

\* Reform Bill—second reading, December 17, 1831.

Commons and the House of Lords, and every office of every description to the catholics; but he has an exception for which I cannot account,—he will exclude them from the throne! I think that many of the arguments which have been used to prove the impolicy of their exclusion from the other two branches of the legislature, will equally serve to prove the policy of their admission to the throne. Will the right honourable gentleman conclude, that an irresponsible protestant king will secure us from the danger which we apprehend from responsible catholic advisers?’

And again,—

‘I have little doubt, that the time will come when the same arguments you now use, will be again employed, and employed successfully, in favour of the admission of a catholic prince to the throne, if we admit the eligibility of the catholic to office and to parliament—nor, do I understand, on what grounds it can be argued, that it is more inconsistent with the principles of the constitution to admit the catholics to the throne, than to the other branches of the legislature.’

Two months after, we find him harping again on the same string, and with still more intense earnestness.

‘I protest,’ says he, ‘against the *principle* of this bill, because it confers upon those who admit an external jurisdiction, the right of legislating in all matters connected with the church of England. I protest against this bill, because it is not conformable to the resolution of the house, on which it professes to be founded; which resolution certainly adopts the principle of concession, but it is a concession connected with the strongest and most distinct securities for the established church. If the protestants exceeded the Roman catholics in number, I should have much less objection.’

Such were the vague opinions of Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1813. Let us next listen to him in June, 1828.

‘I refer the honourable baronet, (Sir F. Burdett,) and the house, to the declaration which I have repeatedly made respecting it, (the catholic question), to that declaration and to those opinions I still adhere; and I conceive that, in saying so, I have said enough to satisfy the house, that my sentiments on the question remain unaltered.’

Within twelve months of this period, Sir Robert Peel carried, by his own political influence, the Bill for Catholic Emancipation; and, in the year 1830, we find him thus reviewing his political conduct:—

‘In the course of last year we performed a great duty, by acting in contradiction to the opinions we had previously entertained, and the course which we had long thought it our duty to pursue. I then thought, and I do still believe, that that step was imposed upon us by a positive and overwhelming necessity, even though by carrying it into effect, we forfeited the confidence and attachment of many in this house. But, Sir, I cannot now, even to conciliate the good will of that party, or any member of it, say, that I repent the step that we have taken.’

We might continue to an indefinite extent, the proofs of Sir



Robert Peel's inconsistency; and we might, without much difficulty, trace all the indications of that inconsistency, to the principles we have already laid down. This, however, is rendered unnecessary by the evidence already adduced, as well as by those practical events which must be fresh on the recollection of every reader.

Sir Robert Peel is unquestionably a man of great powers of mind, of singular political knowledge, and of extraordinary adaptation to public business. He is also a man of accomplished education, and qualified by his oratorical talents to sway the deliberations of such a parliament as that, of which his fortune has made him the leader. Acute in the perception of details, he is incompetent, though perhaps, more morally than intellectually, to appreciate the force of great and comprehensive principles. Like his great predecessor, and, perhaps his model, Mr. Pitt, he has oscillated though with far less momentum, to almost every point of the political compass. He has betrayed his party, his principles, and his friends; and even his inimitable blandness fails altogether to cover his political crimes. If posterity are ever to be taught, that the highest talents, and the mildest pretensions may work the deepest woe of nations, Sir Robert Peel will be their unanswerable though involuntary teacher. His temper, indeed, as a statesman, is well nigh perfect; so that even his occasional deviations from a stoical propriety, only remind us of him, who

‘Carried anger as a flint bears fire,  
Which, much enforced shows a hasty spark  
And straight is cold again.’

Yet, amidst our complacency in the natural temperament of Sir Robert Peel, we are compelled to a graver estimate of the effects of his vast influence upon the welfare of this country, and of mankind. An inspired apostle has taught us, that ‘a double minded man is unstable in all his ways;’ and, if this is infallibly true in morals, the career of Sir Robert Peel has taught us, that in politics it is no less true, that no man has the power to work such extensive and permanent mischief to mankind, as one who combines morality of principle, amiableness in private life, and perfect aptitude to public business, with a recklessness of those principles of moral and political justice, on which the happiness and advancement of society are solely dependant. We believe that posterity will make this the moral of this statesman's career; and, that with all due admiration of his personal qualities, their highest eulogy will be, that he was the Polyphemus of mis-rule, and their heartfelt ejaculation

‘Di! talem terris avertite pestem!’

## Brief Notices.

*Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford; selected from the Originals in Woburn Abbey. With an Introduction by Lord John Russell.* Vol. II. London: Longman.

The first volume of this collection was noticed at some length, and its distinguishing characteristics pointed out in our journal for January last. Little more, therefore, need be said at present, than to notify the chronological limits of the volume before us, and to specify the more important topics which its contents illustrate. It relates to the period intervening between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the death of George the Second, which was far from constituting one of the brightest or most illustrious epochs of our history. Few of the public men of that day were distinguished either by talents or by integrity. A dull mediocrity, save in the extent and barefacedness of its corruption, pervaded political life. The Duke of Bedford was certainly better than many of his contemporaries, but he was proud, indolent, and not regardless of the gains of office. That he was open to the corrupt influences which swayed some of his contemporaries we do not believe, but that his judgment was sufficiently weak to allow him frequently to be misled by men whom he ought to have spurned, is too notorious to be denied. 'Even Junius,' remarks Lord John Russell, 'with all his malignity and disregard of truth, would scarcely have succeeded in blackening the fame of the Duke of Bedford had he rejected the assiduous flattery of pleasant companions, and sought the intimacy of high-minded friends.'

We cannot rate the value of this 'Collection' very highly. Neither the personages introduced, nor the transactions referred to, are of great or permanent interest; while the party intrigues which disturbed the official quiet of the Duke, and ultimately compelled his resignation, are deficient in all the higher elements of moral interest. Still the correspondence is not without its value, as the future historian of the reign of George II. will show.

We anticipate a considerable increase both in the value and in the interest of the materials which are to form the third volume, as they will illustrate the changes which characterized the domestic policy of George the Third. The Introduction to that volume will include a notice of the attacks of Junius on the character and services of the Duke.

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*Thoughts upon Thought for Young Men.* In three Parts. London: Snow.

At a time when the young men of this metropolis are endeavouring to secure increased time for mental occupation and pleasure, this little volume appears opportunely, and we hope may find many readers amongst them. The writer we suppose to be one already familiar to the Christian public, but who, with a view to disarm prejudice, prefers to conceal his name. The intrinsic merits of his unpretending little volume can however scarcely fail to secure its extensive circulation. Fathers who are anxious for the religious and intellectual progress of their sons, with

great propriety may place it in their hands, and masters may give or lend it to their apprentices. It consists of three parts; on the responsibility of man in relation to his thoughts, on the government of the thoughts, and on the influence of the thoughts, in the formation of character. It is written throughout in the spirit of sound Christian philanthropy.

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*Lectures on Tractarian Theology.* By John Stoughton. London : Jackson and Walford. 1843.

We have been delighted with Mr. Stoughton's Lectures. They contain strong arguments, substantial learning, and powerful appeals. The subjects of them are tradition, apostolical succession, the sacraments, and the holy catholic church. Books on these subjects rapidly increase, but there are few of equal size likely to exceed in comprehensiveness and adaptation for usefulness, these interesting lectures.

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*The Recreation. A Gift-book for Young Readers.* The Fourth of the Series. Edinburgh : Menzies.

A small volume which will greatly delight our young readers, and not be unwelcome or distasteful to those of more advanced years. 'It is designed as a present for young persons, and much care has been bestowed upon the selection of the materials.'

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*The Complete Suffrage Almanack for 1844.* Compiled and published under the sanction of the National Complete Suffrage Union. London : Davis and Hasler.

A happy design skilfully executed. In addition to the information ordinarily contained in such works, the *Complete Suffrage Almanack* supplies a large mass of important intelligence, partly statistical and partly historical. It is pervaded by an honest and earnest spirit, whose singleness of purpose is in happy keeping with extensive information, and an enlightened appreciation of those general principles which lie at the foundation of human virtue and happiness.

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*A Memorial of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, as exhibited in the Life and Death of Miss Mary M'Owan.* By her Father. London : John Mason.

An affecting memorial, by a pious parent, of the life and early death of an intelligent and interesting daughter. She was a member of the Wesleyan Society, in connexion with which she had been brought up and lived and died. As a record of early and eminent piety, the book is very suitable for perusal and circulation amongst the young.



*The Pastor's Legacy, or Devotional Fragments from the German of Lavater.* By Henrietta F. Fry. London: Gilpin.

Lavater, we are told, in the preface to this neat little volume, 'occupied a portion of his latter days in preparing little legacies of love for his Christian friends.' The pieces now printed are very short, and the sentiments which they contain are rather profusely established by the appendage of numerous texts of Scripture. The German originals also are annexed to the volume. They are considerably briefer than the English translations. The latter may be obtained with or without the former. The lovers of Christian sentiment expressed in verse, who are unable to read German, will be gratified by the contribution to their stores which is presented by the translator.

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*Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales.* By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. With fifty engravings, from drawings by Cattermole, Cox, and Creswick, and an accurate map. London: Tilt & Bogue; Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb.

2. *Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales, with the Scenery of the River Wye.* By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. With fifty engravings, from drawings by Harding, Fielding, Cox, Creswick, and Cattermole; and an accurate map. London: Tilt & Bogue; Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb.

We are gratified to see these beautiful works in a new and more convenient form. As first published they were truly splendid volumes; and perhaps the royal octavo size is necessary to do *full* justice to the numerous engravings with which they are illustrated; but the publishers have certainly consulted the convenience of the tourist by issuing them in demy octavo, and they have done so without materially detracting from their pictorial beauty, or typographical excellence. We congratulate the tourist, who has leisure to follow out the route of Mr. Roscoe, with these elegant volumes as his guides. Besides two large and very complete maps of North and South Wales which they respectively contain, the latter work has two smaller maps in which the course of the Wye from Ross to Chepstow is represented on a somewhat larger scale. Most tourists, we imagine, at least so we found it, would feel that the interest of the scenery described was not a little aided by that of the author's personal narrative. Though this is distinguished by no particularly moving adventures, either of flood or field, it gives a unity to the works, which they would otherwise want. Indeed, to speak in painter's parlance, it is *the* subject. It is that in these volumes, which the subject is in a beautiful landscape painting, the centre of unity, and the source of living interest. This interest is again aided by the historical sketches which are interspersed as the old memorials of former days successively appear in view. In his treatment of such matters, Mr. Roscoe shows himself a pattern tourist. Not only has he told us the road he travelled, but frequently *how* he travelled. The description of his tour is usually subjective. We see the country described, and how it affects the traveller.

When he comes in sight of any ancient castle, any mouldering ruin, whether of mansion or abbey, he waits to give us an account of what, was done or suffered there, and how the once proud structure became a ruin. Then comes forth his portfolios, which Cattermole has enriched with such powerful historical drawings, depicting the history of the brave Lewellyn, or the weak and unfortunate Richard, and in which there is a pictorial representation of almost every object which the wanderer would desire to see, or having seen, to recollect. The views are very numerous, and quite worthy of the work, which is saying much. Some of the scenes—but we have not room to particularize—would be wonderful as compositions, if they were not real. They are uniformly well depicted and well engraved. As we have already hinted, the wanderer in Wales will wander in good company who has these volumes for his guides. We only add, that he who has visited Wales without this advantage may impart a surprising freshness to his recollections, and powerfully renew his former pleasures, by perusing them. We have spoken highly of the volumes, because they are a spirited and successful effort to afford the lover of Wales, and the lover of the picturesque, whether a 'wanderer' or not, both amusement and information in a most agreeable form, and at a very reasonable cost.

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### Literary Intelligence.

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#### *In the Press.*

Christian Consolation ; or, The Unity of the Divine Procedure a Source of Comfort to Afflicted Christians. By E. Mannering.

Researches, Physical and Ethnological, with the History of the Asiatic Nations ; being the fourth volume of Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. By J. C. Pritchard, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France. Volume V., to complete the work, is in a state of forwardness.

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#### *Just Published.*

Religion in the United States of America ; or, An Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States ; with Notices of the Evangelical Denominations. By Rev. Robert Baird.

An Examination of the Principles and Tendencies of Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist ; in a Series of Letters to a Friend. By Rev. B. Godwin, D.D.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto. Assisted by various able Scholars and Divines. Parts VII. and VIII.

The Necessary Existence of God. By William Gillespie. New Edition.

The Philosophy of Christian Morals. By Samuel Spalding, M.A. of the London University.

Lectures on the Scriptural Doctrine of Atonement, or of Reconciliation through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the late Lant Carpenter, LL.D.

Selections from the Kur-An, commonly called in England the Koran ; with an Interwoven Commentary. Translated from the Arabic, methodically arranged, and illustrated by Notes chiefly from Sale's Edition. By Edward William Lane.

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